DR. GEORGE W. CESARICH

CROATIA AND SERBIA

WHY IS THEIR PEACEFUL SEPARATION A EUROPEAN NECESSITY?

CROATIA AND SERBIA

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by

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PRONUNCIATION OF CROATIAN LETTERS

c	*ts*	in English *nuts*
č	*ch*	in English *church*
ć	*ch*	in English *child*, only softer
đ, dj, gj	*j*	in English *joke*
dž	*j*	in English *joke*, only harder
g	g	in English *go*, even before *e, i, y*
j	*y*	in English *yes*
lj	*li*	in English *million*, in Italian *gli*
nj	*n*	in English *new*, in Italian *regno*
š	*sh*	in English *she*
ž	*zh*	in English *azure, seizure*

PREFACE

In writing this book our aim has been to present some important factors which have affected the development of Croatian-Serbian relations. We have endeavored to bring into sharper focus the fact confirmed by historical experience that "there was no enduring basis for the perpetual union of the two peoples — Serbs and Croats — in a single, harmonious society." [1] *We have attempted to answer the question why it is entirely impossible for Croatia and Serbia to reconcile their differences in Yugoslavia, and why we can find no just solution of national questions in any "federalist" or "democratic" Yugoslavia. There are also many other issues which should be clarified. Why are the Croatians and Serbians so inimical to each other, despite their language similarity (not language identity)? Why is it a real crime to force them into a single state? Are the experiences of the Croatian people in the first and second Yugoslavia the only reason for its struggle against that artificial and despised creation, or are there some more profound reasons for its attitude? This exposition is an attempt to find answers to these questions by the study of the political, historical, sociological and other factors which are behind the mentality and attitudes of the Serbian leaders.*

Needless to say, it is not our intention to disparage or condemn the Serbian nation as a whole, for we know that

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1 Richard Pattee, *The Case of Cardinal Stepinac* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1953), p. 24.

each nation has its merits and demerits, its good and bad characteristics. We do not subscribe to the unscientific and pernicious racist theory of inherent superiority or inferiority of any race. There is no doubt that the Serbian nation possesses many positive and worthy qualities. We do not scrutinize them here for the simple reason that they do not represent a problem in the Croatian-Serbian relations, and thus would be beyond the scope of the present analysis. Likewise, nobody is so blind as not to recognize some unsatisfactory traits of the Croatian people. We do not dwell on them here for two reasons. First, the Serbians, who have had the instrumentalities of diplomatic channels and propaganda apparatus all to themselves in the last 35 years, have done a thorough job of informing the world how "bad" the Croatians are. Secondly, if one studies the Serbian accusations, he can easily see that they center around the general theme that the Croatians do not desire and, what is more, are, by their history, religion and culture, so conditioned that they cannot wish to live together with the Serbs. This, however, provides further support for our thesis that a peaceful separation of Croatia and Serbia is the only answer to this problem. It is the only solution which can secure permanent peace in Central and Eastern Europe, after the liberation of that territory from Communism.

It may be difficult for any fair-minded person to understand and visualize the evidence that follows in these pages. The analysis may appear to be severe and arbitrary. In fact, it may appear to some of our readers as pure fiction. May we remind them that truth is stranger than fiction. Our data can be verified and our points are proven by quotations taken for the most part from Serbian and neutral sources. It must also be kept in mind that to a mild mannered American the European scene is one of confusion and contradictions. In order to set the record

straight we intend to present the unvarnished truth in spite of the fact that such a presentation, because of its complexity and man's inhumanity to man, is difficult for an American to comprehend.

In conclusion let us point out that in speaking about the Serbian national character, we are fully aware of the problematic nature of this term, and use it only with great reluctance in the absence of a better one. We realize that the "national character" is nothing more than a rough average of the individual characters of the members of a particular nation. Therefore any quality considered here to be typical for the Serbian national character may be absolutely absent in many of the individual members of that nation. Despite all the limitations, however, the Serbian national character is an undeniable reality, and is as such composed of a combination of the permanent and variable mental features widely prevalent among the Serbians. Some of them are discussed in this book.

We wish to express particular indebtedness to our friends who have criticized the entire manuscript and have made numerous suggestions for its improvement.

Dr. G. W. C.

Chicago, Illinois
March, 1954

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INTRODUCTION

Mr. Constantin Fotić, Yugoslav ambassador in Washington during the Second World War and a noted Serbian nationalist, in his book **"The War We Lost,"** describing his visit to President Roosevelt on the eve of the German attack of Yugoslavia (April 3, 1941), writes: "Before I left the President, he asked me, addressing me as a Serb and not as the representative of Yugoslavia, 'Don't you think that it will be much better for you Serbs if you again become a homogeneous state by divorcing yourselves from your western provinces? You will again be strong and won't waste your efforts in those endless domestic problems and discussions.' I was taken aback by the President's open and frank question, which had come so unexpectedly after nearly an hour of friendly conversation. Of course I was aware of all the difficulties of our internal problems and of the almost impossible task of finding a solution satisfactory to both the Croats and the Serbs. Nevertheless, I did not expect the President of the United States to raise this question at a moment when Yugoslavia needed the concentration of all forces to resist the coming onslaught of the Axis. Unfortunately, subsequent events proved that the President's remarks were far from being unjustified." [1]

An identical statement was made by President Roosevelt at about the same time in a press conference when "he expressed his often repeated opinion that the Croats and Serbs had nothing in common, and that it is ridiculous to try to force two such antagonistic peoples to live together under one government." [2]

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1 Constantin Fotić, *The War We Lost,* (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), p. 85.
2 Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins,* (New York: Harper, 1948), p. 711.

President Roosevelt was evidently inclined to think of a plebiscite as the best means to be used in solving problems of this kind. Mr. Sumner Welles states Mr. Roosevelt's opinion in the following manner: "He (Roosevelt) was even more wedded to the idea that plebiscites are a universal remedy than Woodrow Wilson had been. It was at about this time (1942) that he talked to me for well over an hour one evening about the desirability of using plebiscites to settle once and for all the friction between the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, which had so beclouded the history of Yugoslavia as an independent state. He did not apparently attribute much importance to the harm that would be done to the national economies of all three peoples should they decide to become independent entities . . ." [3]

According to the testimony of Mr. Ilija Jukić, former Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs in the exiled Yugoslav governments, and a leading member of the Croatian Peasant Party, Mr. Winston Churchill expressed an even stronger opinion on this subject. In a conversation at Cairo, after the Teheran Conference, with Mr. Božidar Purić, the Serbian Prime Minister, Churchill is reported to have said with exasperation: "There are two hegemonistic aspirations in Europe which have to be destroyed for the sake of peace in it — **Prussia and Serbia.**" [4]

A former Czech ambassador in Belgrade, Mr. Josef Korbel, writes about the national problem in Tito's Yugoslavia: "But the Serbo-Croat problem has not been solved . . . There are politically minded people in every part of Yugoslavia, who are seriously beginning to be convinced that the founding of the Yugoslav state thirty years ago was a fatal error . . . I have met Serbs whom I know as sensible

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3 Sumner Welles, *Seven Decisions That Shaped History*, (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 136.

4 Ilija Jukić, "Yugoslavia: Past and Present," *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, (Paris edition, April 12, 1949), p. 4.

people who have told me that the continuation of Yugoslavia is out of the question when liberation comes." [5]

The Serbians used to tell Mr. Korbel: "We (the Serbs and the Croats) have become strange to each other. It will be to our benefit, and perhaps to the Croats' as well, if we separate after Communism is overthrown." [6] And the Croatians used to speak to Mr. Korbel about the situation in the present-day Communist Yugoslavia: "It is an old story in a red edition . . . It will be much better to separate from the Serbs when Tito's regime falls." [7] Mr. Korbel concludes: "The idea of a united Yugoslavia is far from being deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the people . . . the Serbo-Croat problem still exists in full strength." [8]

A similar opinion has been voiced by the outstanding French expert on Yugoslavia, Mr. Albert Mousset, who, for over 25 years, defended the idea of a united Croatian-Serbian state (Yugoslavia). Mr. Mousset, in an article published in the French daily, **Le Monde,** declares: **"There the national question remains, and the key to it is the settlement of Croatian-Serbian relations. This question is just as heavy a burden for the present Federal Republic as it was for the unitarian Yugoslavia of King Alexander. The Croatians wholeheartedly hope — despite Pavelić's catastrophical adventure—that some day they will certainly have their own state . . . Radić has developed in the Croatian people a very vivid social and national consciousness . . . His assassination in the Parliament of Belgrade has created a deep abyss between the Serbs and the Croats which has never been bridged. And in 1941 and 1942 they engaged in a war which was not a civil war but a war of two nations."** [9]

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5 Dr. Josef Korbel, *Tito's Communism,* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1953), p. 56—57.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 58. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

9 Albert Mousset, "Le Marxist Bonaparte: Tito," *Le Monde,* (Paris, Nov. 8, 1952),

In short, Mr. Mousset has come to the conclusion that the national problem has not been solved in Tito's "federal" Yugoslavia, and that the Croatians have a profound hope to possess some day their own independent state.

This opinion has been confirmed in a report published in a Serbian newspaper, **The American Srbobran,** which states: "The political atmosphere in Dalmatia is very difficult. Hatred between the Serbs and the Croats is great. The abyss, dividing them since the last war, is growing deeper every day. Croatians in Dalmatia, like those in Croatia proper, do not wish to hear anything about Yugoslavia. . . This hatred and intolerance between the Serbians and the Croatians in Dalmatia, and in the whole country, are so evident that they also appear among the more 'moderate' Communists." [10]

An American observer of the present-day Yugoslav conditions, Mr. Richard D. Goodman, describes the national situation in allegedly "federal" Yugoslavia in these terms: "As stated previously, Yugoslavia is today a People's Republic and not a national state. Frequent reference to a Yugoslav state, pronounced by old Yugoslavia and now by Communist Yugoslavia, is only the means of concealing and denying the real existence of the above-mentioned nationalities (Croatians, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins) of which Yugoslavia is comprised. The Serbs are using the term 'Yugoslav nationality' with the deliberate intention of denying the Croatian name, national characteristics, and rights. The Serbian desire to assimilate all nationalities, especially the Croats, into a single Yugoslav nationality was and is only a preconceived means of transitionally modifying all ethnic groups into one Serbian nationality. . . Also, we must note that the Serbs have remained the most

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cit. by A. Ciliga, *Dokle će hrvatski narod stenjati pod srpskim jarmom?*, (Paris, 1952), p. 15.

10 *The American Srbobran,* (Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 7, 1952), p. 1.

dominant and powerful political force in contemporary Yugoslavia. It is commonly known in well informed circles that the majority of members of the Yugoslav Communist Party are Serbs and that they, consequently, occupy state positions of political importance." [11]

We shall conclude this introduction with a significant point made by Mr. Goodman in his discussion of the peoples of Yugoslavia and their right to self-determination. He writes: "Geographically, Croatia is centrally located between Slovenia, Serbia, and Montenegro. By virtue of her (Croatia's) geographical position, it may be authentically contended that the very existence of Yugoslavia depends almost entirely upon the political will of the Croatian people." [12] And what is their political will? Mr. Goodman answers this question as follows: "The Croats, therefore, who are de facto culturally superior to the Serbs, unanimously decided and subsequently manifested their will for independence, their demand for recognition of God-given right to have and to be in their own independent and democratic state . . . Strong movements for independence can also be found in Macedonia and Slovenia, and these strong motivations and desires can be quelled under no circumstances. The people are determined to realize their objectives and nothing else will terminate their courageous struggle."[13]

It seems from this description and other pertinent statements that Yugoslavia has been condemned to death by her oppressed nationalities.[14] The execution of her

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11 Richard D. Goodman, *The Real Truth About Communist Yugoslavia*, (Erie, Pa., 1953), p. 58.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

14 This is a viewpoint shared by all nations and national minorities that have been forced to live in that big prison of nations called Yugoslavia. For instance, an outstanding Macedonian leader, Mr. Ivan Mihajloff, in his book, *Macedonia: A Switzerland of the Balkans*, (St. Louis: Pearlstone Publishing

death sentence may be postponed by terror and persecutions, but cannot be delayed indefinitely. In the long run, the progressive ideas of national freedom and independence, and of a free community of nations, must win over the antiquated forces of enslavement, oppression and Communism.

After their unfortunate experiences with various types of despotism (first with mediocre Balkan dictatorships, then with disguised and open fascism, and finally with an even more tyrannical system of Communism), the enslaved nations of Central and Eastern Europe have a right to expect that some day in the near future, they will be free of all kinds of oppression and of all forms of totalitarianism. They should be enabled and encouraged to form **free** and **democratic** national governments "of the people, by the people, for the people", as Abraham Lincoln put it in his immortal Gettysburg Address. Of course, this should equally apply to all subjugated nations no matter who is their oppressor, Moscow or Belgrade.

Co., 1950), writes: "Seldom has there been a state so undesirable to the nations living in it, as Yugoslavia. . . . The police state regime, the national oppression, the plundering of the people, the extermination of all national manifestations have not ceased. Whatever state policy existed during King Alexander's regime, the same conditions exist under the Yugoslav Bolsheviks. That is why the idea of Yugoslavism and a general Yugoslav state, for which there has never been any kind of historical and traditional root in Macedonia, has become synonymous with tyranny, injustice, and enslavement. If there is anything from which Macedonia would like to free herself, it most assuredly is Yugoslavism, and Yugoslavia." (p. 79—81.)

Chapter I

SERBIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER

There are certain idiosyncrasies of the Serbian national character of which the outside world is totally unaware. And yet, to know them is a key to the understanding of this small and vigorous nation which has so often in recent years jeopardized peace and prevented stability in that sensitive part of Europe. We have particularly in mind the Serbian propensity to narcissism, megalomania and mystification. Many Serbians, and especially their leading circles, gravitate excessively to these mental attitudes which are unknown to most Croatians.[1] We should like to emphasize here that we do not regard them as hereditary or genetic features of the Serbian nation, but as a result of political, social and economic developments in Serbia during many centuries.

As the American College Dictionary defines it, **narcissism** is the admiration of one's own physical and mental attributes; it is a normal condition at the infantile level of

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1 In the booklet *On the Borders of the West*, (Buenos Aires, 1952, p. 10—11), the basic differences between the Croatians and the Serbians are described in the following way: "Nature separated the Croats from the Serbs, because the river *Drina* is not only the geographic boundary between Croatia and Serbia, but is also from the oldest times (since the Roman Emperor Theodosius in 395 A.D.) the dividing line between two civilizations and, as some philosophers believe, of two worlds. The Croats and the Serbs belong to different faiths, they use different alphabets, and belong to different, and diametrically opposed cultural spheres. As early as the 9th C. the Croats entered into the sphere of Western culture and, living in the closest contact with the West, they collaborated and deeply experienced the whole of the evolution of the Western Christian world. The Serbs, on the other hand, fell under the spell of Byzantine standards, and became an integral part of the Eastern cultural sphere."

personality development. **Megalomania** is a form of mental alienation marked by delusions of greatness. **Mystification** is intentional misrepresentation of facts. These three character deficiencies are closely related, and are, as such, important features of the Serbian national personality. This fact has been frankly admitted by some objective Serbian students of history. In a recently published political book, a Serbian writer, Mr. Desimir Tošić, speaking about Serbian individualism, maintains quite definitely: "A good part of the Serbian intelligentsia suffers from the Narciss disease, — i.e., from deification of, and falling in love with their own personality, their own figure, their own words, their own writings. Of course, not only educated people suffer from this disease; it goes down to the 'lower' levels and includes en masse our half-intelligentsia . . ."[2] This kind of narcissism, according to Mr. Tošić, "expresses itself in the protuberation of their own (Serbian) personalities".[3] For this reason, it is quite understandable why one finds among the Serbians so many "heroes" who have supposedly performed such "great deeds" in the past. However, this kind of narcissism is, unfortunately, not limited to the individual Serbian personalities. On a broader, national level, it has turned into a very pronounced national megalomania combined with a fabulous national mythology which has become at times very dangerous to all the Serbian neighbors. To verify this statement, which at first glance may appear fanciful, let us quote again a Serbian source, Mr. Tošić, who writes: "Aside from the unstableness, what strikes us particularly in our inner development is the megalomania of the majority of our so-called 'leaders' coupled with the mythology of those who are led. By the misrepresentation of facts, by the casting away of material

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2 Desimir Tošić, *Srpski Nacionalni Problemi*, (Paris: Ed. Oslobođenje, 1952), p. 215.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

truth, we not only squander our national forces but also destroy our national reputation in the outside world."[4] Mr. Tošić recognizes quite well the inevitable link between megalomania and the misrepresentation of facts, and he knows how seriously the present Serbian political leaders are given to the mental aberrations of deception, exaggeration and mystification. A recent manifestation of this spirit is the steady flow of nefarious propaganda from the Serbian exiled political leaders as well as the Serbian Communists in Yugoslavia against Cardinal Stepinac.[5] Both groups equally use lies, deceit and slander to defame that great champion of freedom and justice.

The Serbian books on history are another example of their propensity toward megalomania and mystification. For instance, a Serbian historian, Mr. M. S. Milojević, has developed quite fantastic ideas about the Serbian people in his book on Serbian history. He writes: "The first movement and migration of the Serbian tribes was caused by the Chinese with whom they were incessantly at war for 3000-4000 years, until the Chinese pushed the contemporary Serbs to Siberia. From Siberia, the Serbians moved on, settling the countries around the Caspian, Azov and Black Seas, also the lands in Armenia, Russia and Germany, and partly in Sweden, Belgium and France. Another branch of the

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4 *Ibid.*, p. 222—223.

5 The short-sighted and jingoistic Serbian politicians will never forgive Cardinal Stepinac that as a Croatian he joined all his fellow Croatians in their desire for the complete independence of their country. Though condemning all acts of revenge and violence committed during the war, Cardinal Stepinac has again and again defended the idea of an independent Croatian state. Even at his "trial" in Zagreb Cardinal Stepinac stated the following: "The Croatian nation unanimously declared itself for the Croatian State and I would have been remiss had I not recognized and acknowledged this desire of the Croatian people enslaved by the former Yugoslavia" (Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 40.). Stepinac's courageous defense of Croatian independence has provoked a great hatred for him in the hearts of Serbian chauvinists, and this is one of the most important causes of their vicious propaganda against him.

Serbian people . . . was pushed into Asia Minor and from there moved to the Balkan Peninsula, migrating after that to present Austria, Italy and Germany, where they found other Serbs . . . A third branch of the Serbians was pushed from India and went to present Africa, where they occupied new settlements and started to fight, similarly as in other conquered provinces. One part of the Serbs perished there, another part went to present Spain, France, etc. . . . A very small part of this Serbian branch conquered and pillaged Rome under the name of the Vandals, and after that they disappeared . . . The fact that once the Serbians settled the whole of Asia means that they once lived there as an independent and ruling nation." [6]

This fantastic notion that the Serbians had once settled the whole of Asia, Europe and Africa is evidently a combined product of a very vivid imagination and extreme megalomania. Similar views can be found in many Serbian books, though not always in such extremely fanciful form.[7] Another Serbian historian and journalist, Mr. Sima Lukić-Lukin, in his book about the ancient Serbians, states that they were "the greatest people of the earth," "the strongest nation in the world," "immeasurably rich in population and endlessly extended," "they fertilized all the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa," "they built the tower of Babylon," they were "the nation, in which Christ himself was born!" [8] Such unbelievable exaggerations are quite typical of many Serbian books on history, politics, and culture. In all probability, the Serbians are the only people in the world who could produce and highly cherish a blasphemous song like the following:

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6 M. S. Milojević, *Odlomci iz istorije Srba,* (Beograd: 1872), p. 4.

7 A modern example of this kind of literature is the Serbian daily, *The American Srbobran,* published in Pittsburgh, Pa., which from time to time prints similar stories about an imaginary Serbian greatness.

8 Sima Lukić-Lukin, *Srbi u davnini,* (Zagreb: 1894), p. 232.

"The Serbian heaven is of blue color,
In the heaven thrones God, the Serb,
Around him are the Serbian angels,
Honoring their God, who is a Serbian." [9]

Unfortunately for their neighbors, this is the spirit in which Serbian children have been educated. No wonder that numerous Serbians, indoctrinated with such fairy tales about their past, profoundly believe that the Serbian people, as the greatest people in the world, possess special qualifications to rule other peoples, particularly their neighbors, the Croatians, Macedonians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, etc. They regard the Serbian army as invincible, the Serbian heroes as the greatest in the history of mankind. In Serbian opinion, only "a heinous conspiracy" of their neighbors, whom they all regard as their enemies, has prevented them from acquiring "their rightful place in the world" as the rulers of the Balkans. An ultranationalist Serbian song from the First World War contains the following lines about their King Peter:

"Uncle Peter is riding on a white horse,
And behind him marches the whole of America." [10]

No wonder that the Serbian political leaders, suffering from a chronic case of megalomania, would like to make Serbia the leading nation if not in the world then at least in the Balkans. This ambitious program necessitates, of course, the subjugation of her neighbors. This is the reason of the constant threat to European peace by Serbia which sees herself as a legitimate successor of Byzantium. [11] This

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9 This song has become an inherent part of Serbian national heritage. Their children must learn it by heart in the first grade of grammar school.

10 This King Peter was the grandfather of the present Serbian ex-King Peter.

11 The Byzantine infuences in Serbia are described by Mr. P.D. Ostović in his book *The Truth About Yugoslavia*, (New York: Roy Publishers, 1952, p. 105. ff.), as follows: "The Croats, Roman Catholics, followed the Western, the Serbians, Greek Orthodox, followed the Eastern civilization of Europe. Broadly speaking, Eastern civilization is totalitarian, the Western democratic. . . . The

is equally true of a Royalist as of a Communist Serbia.

It is not too difficult to explain some of the reasons for the infantile traits in the Serbian national personality. Through centuries the Serbians have lived as **rayahs**, i.e. non-Moslem subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. They were subjected to innumerable discriminations and indignities. Their struggle with the Turks was very unequal, and they suffered from an inferiority feeling which they compensated after their liberation by a new superiority and megalomania complex. In an uneven fight with the superior Turks, deceit, cunning and dissimulation were the strongest weapons of the subjugated Serbian rayahs.

A Montenegrin leader, Dr. Sekula Drljević, clearly recognized these defects of the Serbian national character. His entire life was spent fighting for a free Montenegro, and for this reason Serbian chauvinist Chetniks assassinated him and his wife, after the Second World War, in a refugee camp in Austria. In one of his articles, Mr. Drljević wrote: "Under the name 'podvala' (deception) there exists in Serbia a moral and ethical system, a religion. Serbia passionately believes in it. From the beginning of Serbia to the present, the whole public life of Serbia testifies to her unshaken belief in the power of deception."[12] However, the Serbian "podvala" is even more than deception. It means not only the portrayal of the adversaries or enemies in a false light, but also the imputation to them of the acts or qualities, performed or possessed by the slanderer himself. Mr. Drljević describes many cases of Serbian decep-

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seed of the present East-West feud was sown sixteen centuries ago, and the plant is still growing . . . The Roman Church became supernational and universal. The Greek Church, though claiming universality, split into independent national churches . . . Dissimulation, intrigues, pretence and deceit were normal instruments of policy in Byzantine society, and were taken up by those who inherited its traditions. . . . In free Serbia, corruption, violence and murder continued to be practiced. . . ."

12 Dr. Sekula Drljević, "Sumrak religije podvale," *Hrvatski Narod*, (Zagreb, Sept. 24, 1944.).

tion in the past to prove his point. Among other things, he calls the well-known Serbian political leader, Nikola Pašić, a "Moses of the religion of deception." Under Pašić's leadership, Serbia has become the center of many conspiracies against adjacent countries, and the religion of deception has been transformed into a "grandiose political system." Substantially, the religion of deception was triumphant, according to Mr. Drljević, in the activities of the Serbian revolutionary organizations, the **National Defense** (Narodna Obrana) and the **Black Hand** (Crna Ruka), in the famous **Friedjung** trial (1909), in the Serbian conspiracies against Montenegro and her Duke Nicholas (1908), in the assassination of the Austrian successor to the throne, **Franz Ferdinand** (Sarajevo, 1914) in the Declarations of **Corfu** (1917) and **Geneva** (1918), in the **Saloniki** trial (1918), etc., etc.

In the Serbian domestic life, this tendency to deception takes the form of decorative external window-dressing, concealing the real facts of life. Mr. Joza Kljaković describes this in the following manner: "The Serbians, who are the most expressive continuation of Byzantium in the Balkans, have also changed everything into an outside decoration. Thus not only is their saint in the church a decoration but also their whole religion . . . Their praying is only a decoration, they pray with their mouth. Their laws are only decorations, nobody obeys them. Their Yugoslavianism is a decoration, they are Serbs. Their heroism is a decoration, they are Hayduks (bandits who fought the Turks). Their democracy too is a decoration, they are all totalitarians . . . Everything is a decoration and a lie." [13]

The Serbian political and cultural leaders, — the Monarchists as well as the Fascists and the Communists, — use deception and mystification on a national and inter-

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13 Jozo Kljaković, *U suvremenom kaosu*, (Buenos Aires, 1952), p. 311.

national scale. In the first Yugoslavia, they taught their children that the First World War was won because of the decisive blows the Serbian army had given to the Central Powers by their "victories" at the Saloniki front (the Myth of Kajmakčalan). According to this Serbian myth, the Western Allies had very little to do with the final victory. Furthermore, some Serbian leaders were able to persuade London and Paris, in 1939, that the Yugoslav army will defeat all its enemies. However, when the time for fighting came, in 1941, that army disintegrated within a few days. Today, the Serbian Communists speak in the same manner about 30 "invincible Communist divisions," and unfortunately, some gullible people believe again this story, disregarding completely the lessons of recent history. In addition to the Serbian Communists, many Serbian political exiles suffer from the same pathological condition, and their newspapers in exile are full of all kinds of narcissism, megalomania, mystification and deception.

The previously mentioned Serbian writer, Mr. Desimir Tošić, is well aware of the tendency of the leading Serbian political groups to mystify world opinion. For this reason, he calls the attention of his fellow countrymen to the words of a Serbian scholar, Mr. Jovan Cvijić, who once said, "Don't think you can take in your adversaries, because they will make public your deceptions." [14] Hence, Mr. Tošić advises against the use of deceptions in the international field. In spite of this, Serbian political leaders in exile prefer their own propensity to mystification to Mr. Tošić's well-meant counsel. Not long ago, in 1951, some outstanding Serbian émigrés (Mr. Adam Pribićević, Branko Miljuš, and Vlada Belajčić) sent to the United Nations Assembly a "Memorandum" directed against the Croatian people as a whole. That memorandum is crammed with lies, calumnies, misrepresentations, and outright slander.

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14 Tošić, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

On the basis of the same memorandum, a book was published in Paris, in which the Croatian people and the Catholic Church, Cardinal Stepinac and the outstanding Croatian personalities, have been vilified in the lowest fashion.[15] This book is a shameful model of the Serbian religion of deception. Another similarly scurrilous example of it is a pamphlet published in England, and distributed in England and America by the professional anti-Catholic bigots and hatemongers.[16] It is openly admitted that in the publication of that pamphlet the Serbian Monarchists and the Serbian Communists have actively collaborated. Namely, the author acknowledges with gratitude the co-operation of the following Serbian groups or individuals: the government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in exile, under King Peter; the government of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia, under Marshal Tito; the Orthodox Church of Yugoslavia; the Serbian Eastern Orthodox Church for USA and Canada; Mr. Adam Pribićević, Mr. Vladimir Belajčić, Mr. Branko Miljuš, Mr. D. Mirković, Mr. M. Sekulić, etc.[17] For the true character of this bigoted publication it is very typical that all Croatian (Catholic and Moslem) sources are entirely disregarded, while the calumnious Serbian propaganda is accepted as "the whole truth." Moreover, most of that Serbian propaganda material was fabricated in the laboratories of Tito's infamous secret police (UDBA) with the purpose to vindicate the oppression of the Catholic Church in Croatia.[18] However, it is in the character of some of the Serbian political exiles that they are not at all ashamed to help the Communists in the abusive

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15 Herve Laurière, *Assasins au nom de Dieu*, (Paris: 1951)

16 Avro Manhattan, *Terror over Yugoslavia*, (London: 1953)

17 *Ibid.*, p. IX.

18 Terror over Yugoslavia is not exercised, according to Mr. Manhattan, by the Communists and their secret police, but by the persecuted Catholic Church and the Croatian fighters for freedom. In short, in this slanderous book the victims have been portrayed as "terrorists," and the persecutors as "victims."

propaganda against the Croatian people and the Catholic Church. Thus, the common front of all the Serbians, from the Monarchists to the Communists, against all their neighbors, and particularly against the Croatians, is today a well-established, though regrettable, fact.

Serbian megalomania and their propensity to mystification go hand in hand with another of their unfortunate characteristics, i.e., their attempt to appropriate the material or immaterial possessions that have for centuries belonged to neighboring countries or peoples. Mr. L. v. Suedland explains this feature of the Serbian character by the fact that the Serbians are a mixture of Slavic peoples and of nomadic remnants of the old Romans who, after the decline of Rome, continued to live in the mountains of the Balkans as a nomadic, pastoral and predatory people (known as **Vlachs** or **Wallachs**).[19] He stresses, in his profound analysis of their nomadic traits, the following ideas: "In the national character of the Serbians the nomadic and rapacious character of mountain herdsmen is very well preserved . . . Wherever the Serbians appear as a political mass, the striving to appropriate goods

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19 In addition to nomadic Vlachs, the urban Tsintsars *(Cincari)* have contributed a great deal to the shaping of Serbian national personality. The Vlachs and Tsintsars are of the same mixed ethnic origin, and belong to the same Orthodox religion which has largely facilitated their assimilation into Serbian society. In Croatia, the members of the Serbian national minority are, for the most part, of Vlach origin. The Tsintsars comprise the upper social class in most Serbian cities, the so-called *čaršija*. The Tsintsars are best known as merchants and bankers. Because of their former status as a more or less suppressed minority, the Vlachs and the Tsintsars have developed many negative characteristics, which have gradually become, to a great extent, an important part of Serbian national life. So is, for instance, the *čaršija* of Belgrade made up predominantly of Tsintsars who have greatly affected Serbian political, cultural and economic developments. According to a Serbian scholar, Mr. D. I. Popović, the Tsintsars possess the following characteristics: prudence, brightness, determination, materialism, narrowness, hypocrisy, egotism, ambition, perfidy, cynism, cleanness, etc., (D. I. Popović, *O Cincarima*, Beograd: 1937, and Hrvatska Enciklopedija, Zagreb: 1942, vol. III, p. 771. ff.) This Tsintsar mentality has been an indelible feature of the Serbian political life in the

belonging to others is too often the motive of their effort . . . Everything that the Croatians possess, Croatian lands. Croatian literature, is Serbian. The Croatians did not create anything during their history, only the Serbians did."[20] Without any shame Serbian writers and historians appropriate in their books Croatian lands, rulers, artists, poets, novelists, etc., and describe them as Serbians. In this sense, they have been always trying to influence the outstanding world encyclopedias, and also publications dealing with the problems of Southeastern Europe and the Balkans. Many books published in English, French and German are full of Serbian mystifications, imposed upon gullible and uninformed authors by the official "Yugoslav" agencies and information offices, or by the private or semi-private Serbian propagandists. [21]

After getting acquainted through bitter experiences with the Serbian propensity to narcissism, megalomania and mystification, the Croatians do not wish, under any circumstances, to continue living with them in a second, or third, or any Yugoslavia. The Serbian mentality, as described here, is for them entirely undigestible. The Byzantine culture of Serbia and the Western culture of Croatia can

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first and second Yugoslavia. (See more about Vlachs and Tsintsars in: Dr. Vatroslav Murvar, *Hrvatska i Hrvati*, "Croatia" Cult. Publishing Center, Chicago: 1953), and Sava M. Štedimlija, *Auf dem Balkan*, Putovi, (Zagreb: 1943).

20 L. v. Suedland, *Južnoslavensko pitanje*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), p. 183—184.

21 A typical example of this is a reputably looking but really scandalous, pro-Tito book, published under the name of *Yugoslavia* and edited by a Mr. Robert J. Kerner, (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 1949). Mr. Leigh White calls it "a pro-Tito symposium" (*The Balkan Caesar*, New York: Schribner's Sons, 1951, p. 51). In this half-scholarly and half-propagandist book about Yugoslavia, truth is intertwined with half-truths and un-truths, and even with the usual Serbian misrepresentations and mystifications. Croatian viewpoints are disregarded. Moreover, some of the misinformed authors had been probably unaware of the fact that they were giving a onesided and untrue picture. In the selected bibliography, Croatian works or books sympathetic to the Croatian people, are, with few exceptions, con-

never be reconciled in a common state organization. Professor Oscar Halecki remarks that what separates the Croats and the Serbs is not only religion. He writes: "Nowhere else in East Central Europe did the antagonism between Western and Eastern cultural trends prove stronger, even in the twentieth century." [22] Croatia and Serbia are two worlds which will never fully understand each other, and which can live in peace only when separated. In this respect, it may be important to mention that despite the varied and deep differences between Croatia and Serbia, there were no open clashes between them when they lived separated, each in their own state. Mr. Vlaho Raić, speaking about this fact, writes: "On the contrary, Tomislav (the first Croatian king, crowned in 925 A.D.) helped Serbia to withstand Bulgaria; later some Croatian nobles went to Kossovo to oppose, together with the Serbians, the Osmanli invasion . . . Only later when the Serbs rushed into Croatian lands, escaping the Turks or as their rayahs, their mutual intolerance manifested itself, and a deep antagonism of interests, tendencies and mentalities came to the fore." [23] Nevertheless, only after the creation of first Yugoslavia did these antagonisms receive the character of a really

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spicuously absent. Mr. Harry N. Howard, a professor of history, in his "Chronology of Historical Evolution," declares that the great *Croatian* poet Marko Marulić was "*a Serbian* (?) nobleman from Split", that the *Croatian* poet Hanibal Lucić wrote Robinja, the oldest drama in *Serbian* (?) literature, that the *Croatian* poet Petar Hektorović is "a Dalmatian poet", who wrote "in *Serbian*" (?), etc., etc. (p. 444.) All this is just as fantastically untrue as if somebody in Croatia wrote that Mark Twain was a great Mexican writer, and Shakespeare a great French dramatist!? There is hardly a single article in that book which is not under the influence of some Serbian mystification. It is very deplorable that a Serbian jingoism of a very vicious sort has found its way into this book, published by such a reputable publisher. It is even more unfortunate that in it Serbian chauvinism has been mixed, in some places, with an uncritical glorification of Tito's undemocratic and Communist regime.

22 Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, (New York: The Roland Press Company, 1952), p. 402.

23 Vlaho Raić, *Hrvatska i Srbija*, (*Buenos Aires*, 1953), p. 17.

permanent enmity, and a struggle started which is apparently inherent in the very existence of a common Croatian-Serbian state. Of course, the separation of Croatia and Serbia is not expected to change by itself the Serbian character, but it will probably have an important moral significance and be beneficial to Europe as a whole. It may increase the amount of mutual tolerance in the Balkans, and it may prevent a further "Balkanization" of Europe which is a real threat to the Western democratic institutions and the Western mode of life.

Chapter II

SERBIAN IMPERIALISM

Two Serbian literary reformers, Dositej Obradović in the 18th C., and Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić in the 19th C. propagated more or less the idea that from Trieste to the Black Sea, from Budapest to Kotor (Cattaro) almost exclusively live Serbians. People of that territory, they said, may have different names but their "real nationality" is Serbian. Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić coined the favorite Serbian slogan **"Srbi svi i svuda"** (Serbians all and everywhere) which has become the guiding idea of Serbian imperialism. As Mr. P. Ostović explains: "He (Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić) claimed that most of the Croats were really Serbs and reduced Croats and Croatia to something less than one-fifth of their territory. Unfortunately, these views were taken up by Serbian politicians and gave birth to the idea of a Great Serbia.[1] The Serbian Church and Serbian intelligentsia have both accepted this Pan-Serbian program, trying to realize it with all possible means. "The fact is that in the decades which followed," Mr. Ostović continues,

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1 P. D. Ostović, *The Truth About Yugoslavia,* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1952), p. 48. — Mr. Ostović contends that the seeds of this Greater Serbia idea were sown much earlier. He writes: "When the Turks reestablished the Serbian Patriarchate at Peć, in 1557, they extended its spiritual authority over all the Orthodox Christians who immigrated or were imported into Bosnia-Hercegovina and those parts of Croatia which the Turks had conquered and incorporated in the Bosnian Pashalik. The Serbian ecclesiastical authorities began to refer to all this territory as 'our land'; meaning, of course, the land under their spiritual jurisdiction. This term, 'our land,' was later misinterpreted, either through error or deliberate intent, as meaning *Serbian* land. This interpretation is given in the Memorandum sent by the Serbian Metropolitan Bishop S. Stratimirović to the Russian Court, in June, 1804." (p. 48.)

"extreme Serbian claims to Croatian territories and plans for a Great Serbian State were based on these ideas and on these erroneous assumptions." [2] We may say without any exaggeration that this Serbian expansionism is one of the principal reasons for the animosity existing today, between the Croatians and the Serbians, and between the Serbians and the Bulgarians.

In his remarkable book about the South-Slav question, the noted sociologist L. v. Suedland declares that "the real gist of the South-Slav question lies in the fact that the political and religious concepts of Byzantium threaten to take over the whole of the Balkans, that old domain of Byzantium." [3] In accordance with the Byzantine viewpoints, "the right to existence in the Balkans is possessed only by Byzantine believers. Everything else must be destroyed by force or slyness." [4] Or expressed even clearer: "The essence of the present South-Slav problem consists in the fact that the Serbians endeavor to conquer the Bulgarians and the Croatians in order to become the first power in the Balkans, and then intend to destroy and assimilate the Croatians and the Bulgarians, thus conquering and serbianising the whole Slavic Balkan." [5] It is generally recognized that, in the main, the Serbian political leaders systematically strive to put into effect their imperialistic and expansionistic program. This ambitious scheme of conquest was clearly formulated, in political terms, by a Serbian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Ilija Garašanin, in his **"Načertanije"** (Plan) [6] which he handed to the Serbian Duke Alexander Karađorđević in 1844 when Serbia was still a small vassal dukedom in the Ottoman Empire. On

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2 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
3 L. v. Suedland, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
4 *Ibid.*, p, 161.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
6 Petar Šimunić, *Načertanije*, Tajni spis srpske nacionalne i vanjske politike, (Zagreb: 1944)

the basis of a memorandum, written by an agent of Polish emigration in Serbia, Mr. Franjo Zach,[7] Garašanin drew a plan of reconstructing the old, medieval Kingdom of Tsar Dušan (1331-1355), for the purpose of putting into effect the dream of a Greater Serbian Empire that would take the place of the older Eastern and Ottoman Empires. The aim of Zach's memorandum was to make Serbia a bulwark of **anti-Russian** policy in the Balkans. Garašanin "edited" that memorandum in such a way as to make an enlarged **pro-Russian** Serbia a leader in the Balkans, a second Byzantium. According to Garašanin's plan the Greater Serbian Empire would embrace territories which have never been Serbian, i.e., the following Croatian provinces: Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Syrmium (Srijem), and Slavonia. He would have also incorporated into Serbia some Bulgarian, Hungarian, Macedonian, and Albanian territories.

Unfortunately for the Serbian neighbors, and even for the Serbs themselves, Garašanin's plan has become the national catechism of the Serbian statemen, politicians and diplomats. A Serbian historian, Mr. D. Stranjaković, clearly admits this fact when he says: "Garašanin's **'Načertanije'** has served, with certain changes and additions, as a program of foreign and national policy, not only for his author (Garašanin), but also for all other statesmen and politicians of Serbia . . ."[8] Thus the entire Serbian politics and all the Serbian wars of aggression have served that expansionist goal of an enlarged Greater Serbia. Incidentally, the Serbian aim could be accomplished only by a forced conquest of lands belonging to the neighboring nations. In this respect, the policy of Little Serbia before the First World War, the policy of Royal Yugoslavia, and the policy of Communist Yugoslavia, are completely identical. The

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7 Dr. Vatroslav Murvar, *Hrvatska i Hrvati*, (Chicago: "Croatia", 1953), p. 224. ff.
8 Dr. D. Stranjaković, "Načertanije," *Glasnik Istorijskog Društva*, (Belgrade, Vol. IV), p. 405—406.

difference between them lies only in the slogans used to cover up the Pan-Serbian aims. In the Dukedom of Serbia, in the 18th and 19th C., the chief Serbian slogan was "Liberation from the Turks," in the Royal Yugoslavia (1918-1941) it was "National Unity," in the Second Yugoslavia it is "Socialist Brotherhood and Unity." Through all these years, the slogans have somewhat changed but the aggressive Greater Serbian policy of conquest and expansion has remained the same no matter who rules in Belgrade.

The most eminent Serbian representative in the U.S., the Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije, wrote recently in an article in the **American Srbobran** these significant words: "Belgrade must possess Trieste and Saloniki,"[9] thus expressing most authoritatively that the Serbians demand not only Croatian, but also Slovenian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek territories which would become parts of a Greater Serbia. The Most Rev. Dionisije asks his Serbian people: "Serbians, defend Serbdom in its broadest ethnic boundaries and provinces . . . Remember, Belgrade cannot prosper if it does not possess Trieste and Saloniki. These are our two sea gates, which for Belgrade, for Serbia, for Yugoslavia, must always be open . . ."[10] Serbian political books and Serbian newspapers in exile repeat daily the same refrain of a Greater Serbia as the ultimate goal of all the Serbian political strivings. For instance, in the book by S.D. Balać, Istorijska prava srpskog naroda (Pittsburgh: Srpski Narodni Savez, 1943, p. 135.) the author demands that **the Serbian national state must ultimately include all the territories "from Trieste to Sofia, and from Budapest to Saloniki!"**

This extremely imperialist mentality of Serbian leading

9 Episkop Dionisije, "Osvrt na rad bugarskog Episkopa Andreja," *The American Srbobran*, (Pittsburgh, Pa.: June 27, 1952), p. 2. — We call this scheme for the creation of a Greater Serbia, *"Plan Dionisije."* It may be see on map No. 5.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

circles has been responsible for serious troubles in Royal and Communist Yugoslavia. During the First World War "the Serbian government was secretly pursuing a plan for the creation of a Great Serbian state at the expense of other Yugoslav peoples." [11] The leader and prime minister of Serbia in the same period, Mr. Nikola Pašić, "was determined to make the new kingdom he helped to form nothing else but the 'Greater Serbia' of his imagination." [12] As Professor Halecki remarks: "For the Serbs, who by themselves constituted the larger half of all Yugoslavs, that state was to be, as a matter of fact, an enlarged Serbia." [13] Thus, the national administration of the first Yugoslav state was "overloaded by Serbians." [14] In that state, "the Serbian ruling class assumed the air of liberators and conquerors . . . (and) . . . it started abusing all non-Serbians and all institutions and habits which were not on the primitive Serbian level . . . This Serbian hegemony extended to all fields of the political and economic life of the country and, true to its inherited Turkish methods of government, found expression in discrimination against and in injustice toward all other Yugoslav peoples . . ." [15] As a disappointed Croatian "Yugoslav", Mr. Joza Kljaković, explains: "In this Yugoslavia we Croats were considered second-rate citizens. The Serbs tried to convince us that they have been our liberators, breaking the 'famous' front of Kajmak-Čalan; in fact, they have liberated us from everything; they withdrew our currency at a rate of one to four, they took over all the most important offices and so on. This was the beginning of our 'liberation.' In Parliament they liberated us with revolver shots which killed Stephan Radić, his nephew Paul, and the

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11 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
12 Joseph S. Roucek, *Balkan Politics*, (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1947), p. 92.
13 Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
14 Roucek, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
15 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

deputy Basariček, while several others were severely wounded. The liberation continued with the massacres of Sibinj, with the massacres of Senj (where many innocent Croats were slaughtered by Serbian gendarmes), with the numerous imprisonments and deportations." [16] Is it then unusual that, in the eyes of the Croats, the name Yugoslavia is synonymous with tyranny, terror, and injustice?

The Tito-Communists have adopted the same attitude towards the Croats as did the older Belgrade regimes. [17] They are just as Pan-Serbian as their royalist predecessors. Occasionally, the ruling circles of Tito's Communist Yugoslavia frankly admit the true facts about their own Pan-Serbian policy. For instance, the Communist propaganda sheet Novi list (The New Journal), published in New York, and edited by members of Tito's propaganda staff, declared in its issue of Oct. 15, 1951 that there is nothing unusual in the fact that "Croatia is being administered by the Serbians" because the Serbians have "deserved that right in the struggle for liberation!" Every agressor, and every conqueror tries to support his position by the phony slogan of "liberation." Hitler maintained that he had "liberated" Poland, a Stalin "liberated" it again from Hitler. In a similar manner, the Serbian imperialists of all colors maintain they have "liberated" Croatia, and consequently have

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16 Joza Kljaković, "Croatia" in *Today's World*, (Edinburgh: Vol. 1, Nr. 2, Jan. 1948), p. 16.

17 One of the post-war British admirers of Tito, Mr. George Bilainkin (*Tito*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, p. 44), describes a meeting between Tito and Mihajlović in 1941, and quotes Tito as saying: "Since for some unknown reason Mihajlović mistook me for a Russian, and remained under that impression for some time, he spoke quite openly about the Croats and the other peoples of Yugoslavia. Asked his opinions about the national question, he openly declared that Croats, Moslems and others must be mercilessly punished, and that, after retribution had been exacted, they must be completely subordinated to the Serbs." But Mr. Bilainkin evidently forgets to add that Tito's Communists have been able, after the war, to make real this old dream of pan-Serbian imperialism, and that in the present-day Communist Yugoslavia the Serbian hegemony is more pronounced than ever.

the right to keep there their army of occupation. Despite clever attempts to cover up the policy of Serbian expansion in various fields, the ruling circles of Communist Yugoslavia persistently follow the idea of a Greater Serbia. All important state, diplomatic and military posts are held by the Serbians, even in the so-called Croatian "government" in Zagreb in which Serbians play a leading role. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tito's Yugoslavia is a Serbian (Koča Popović), so are the Yugoslav ambassadors in the most important world capitals: Washington, Paris, London, and Moscow (Popović, Prica, Velebit, and Vidić, respectively). Moreover, the finances, the internal affairs, the police, and the ministry of defense in the "federal" government are also headed by the Serbian ministers. No wonder that the Croatian people call this situation "Pan-Serbianism in a new red edition!" Mr. Goodman attempted to discuss this situation with Mr. Janez Stanovnich, Counselor of the Yugoslav Mission to the United Nations. However, "Mr. Stanovnich refused to discuss and deliberately avoided my (Goodman's) interrogations concerning the national, ethnical and political questions in Yugoslavia because he too realized that this is the most delicate and critical problem presently confronting the Yugoslav Government." [18] The present rulers of Yugoslavia continue to preach deceitfully about "brotherhood and unity" in order to cover up their oppression of enslaved nations.

The Serbian émigrés are, unfortunately, as imperialistic and chauvinistic as the Serbian Communists who today rule in Belgrade. A Croatian journalist, Mr. Bogdan Radica, depicts, in an article, that Dr. Milan Gavrilović, an allegedly "moderate" Serbian, and a leader of the Serbian Peasant Party, had declared during the last war to Mr. Subašić, President of the Yugoslav Government in exile: "Wherever Serbian blood fell, there is Serbian soil." Subašić

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18 Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

asked, "Do you also mean Zagreb?" (the capital of Croatia). "Yes, Zagreb, too," answered Mr. Gavrilović.[19] Mr. Gavrilović has never denied this story which is significant insofar as it proves that even the so-called "moderate" Serbians are extremely imperialistic. A similar view-point was expressed by the former Serbian minister, Mr. Jovan Djonović, now an émigré in the U.S., who declared that inside the boundaries of an eventual, future Croatian state "not a single Serbian could be included."[20] Since about 2% of the population of the Croatian capital, Zagreb, is composed of Serbs, this would practically mean that Serbian political leaders have such big appetites that they would incorporate the very capital of Croatia, if possible, into their Greater Serbia. This is similar to a demand that could be made by the Germans to include the city of Paris into a Pan-German state because a small percentage of Germans live there! However, there are some Serbians who are more "generous" than either Mr. Gavrilović or Mr. Djonović. They are willing to "give" Croatia a very small territory around Zagreb.[21] This plan of "amputation" goes back to the Serbian political leader, Mr. Nikola Pašić, and was recently revived by the Serbians in the United States.[22] We see it as a real tragedy that so many Serbs strongly believe in their own foolish, expansionist propaganda slogans, particularly in the fantastic fable that all "Yugoslav" provinces with a Serbian minority are "Serbian lands" which must be incorporated into a Greater Serbia and so "liberated from the enemy." The existence of more or less strong Serbian minorities in the countries surrounding Serbia justi-

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19 Bogdan Radica, "Govor Milana Gavrilovića," *Hrvatski Glas*, (Winnipeg, Man., Canada, July 31, 1951)

20 Statement by Jovan Djonović, *The American Srbobran*, August 14, 1951

21 Dr. J. Ž. Milosavljević, *Srpsko-hrvatski spor*, (Pittsburgh, Pa.: The American Srbobran, 1945). Milosavljević's plan of Serbian expansion is reproduced on the map No. 5.

22 *Ibid.*, Appendix

fies the claims for their protection, but can never serve as a vindication for the insane annexation plans of the Serbian imperialists. The members of Serbian minority in Croatia must of course possess all civil and political rights. However, in a free Croatia, they cannot continue to enjoy their present privileged status as a ruling group.

There is another unhappy feature in the Serbian mentality, closely linked with their imperialism, which is certainly resented by their neighbors. Many Serbians think of themselves as the Prussians of the Balkans. The Serbs in developing aggressive dreams of a Great Serbia envisaged a unification of the Balkans which "was to bring added power to Belgrade and the Serbian leadership throughout Yugoslavia." All this according to a very distinguished scholar, Mr. Hans Kohn, who also adds: **"Thus Serbia dreamed rather of the role of Prussia, without the numerical or administrative superiority of the latter, than of the role of Piedmont"** (Panslavism, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Ind., 1953, p. 57.). He describes how "a great self-confidence and an aggressive nationalism pushed the ruling circles of Serbia to challenge the "ramshackle" Empires of Turkey and of Austria-Hungary," and then elaborates on this subject: "More dangerous was the spirit of violence which developed fast among the Serbian youth, and a brutalization of public life and the celebration as heroes of terrorist 'martyrs,' beginning with Bogdan Žerajić, a Serb from Hercegovina who on June 10, 1910, shot General Varešanin at the opening of the Bosnian Sabor (Diet) and then committed suicide. **This aggressive overflow of misguided energy expressed itself later also in the Serbian policy toward other Slavs, Croatians and Macedonians"** (Kohn, **op. cit.,** p. 191—192.). It is therefore quite understandable that the Serbs as "the Prussians of the Balkans," are accused by all their neighbors of placing themselves into the category of supermen. The Croatians, Bulgarians, Albanians, etc., should, in the opinion of many Serbs, be

glad to be led by them. However, the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe can never recognize the claim of a Serbian leadership. In the first and second Yugoslavia, and in exile, the Serbians have continued to behave as the Prussians of the Balkans, forgetting that the adjacent countries will never cease to fight for their own independence. Not only the Serbian neighbors, but many outstanding statesmen of the Western World, like Mr. Churchill, have recognized the great dangers of Serbian hegemonism and its threat to the peace of Europe. [23]

The tactics used by the Serbian politicians in the execution of their final goal, a Greater Serbia, may at times differ, but the goal still remains unchanged. Today, the exiled Serbians are divided into two major groups. The first is still trying to sell the Croatians and other oppressed nations on the idea of a third Yugoslavia which would allegedly be "democratic" and "federalistic." The second group, realizing that there are now no gullible Croats who would believe their empty promises, admit frankly their efforts to create a Greater Serbia. At times these two groups quarrel violently with each other but in their fight against Croatian independence and freedom, there is no difference between them. Both groups take active part in a calumnious propaganda campaign against the Croatian nation and her political, religious, and cultural representatives.

While all the Serbian politicians are doing everything possible to prevent the establishment of an independent Croatian state, which would necessarily hinder them in their expansionist plans, the Croatians have no objections against the formation of a Serbian state which would have just ethnic frontiers (see map No. 6). However, the Serbians are not satisfied with any sensible proposal to fix national boundaries. They have ruled Yugoslavia for over thirty

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23 Jukić, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

years, and so have persuaded themselves that all the provinces, appropriated by force or cunning after the First World War, are really their own. Now, they believe in their own deceitful propaganda slogans. Yet their grotesquely imperialistic and agressive plans include the domination of so many non-Serbian territories that it would be a matter of sheer impossibility to swallow them all and remain alive. Their plans include: **Macedonia** (Bulgarian-Macedonian majority), **Montenegro** (Montenegrin majority), **Kossovo and Metohija** (Albanian majority), **Sanjak** (Croatian Moslem majority), **Bosnia and Hercegovina** (Catholic and Moslem Croats here represent a majority), **Dalmatia** (overwhelming Croatian majority), and even **parts of Banal Croatia.** How do the Serbian politicians justify such impertinent imperialistic plans? They say that in all these provinces "Serbian blood fell." This is partially true since the Serbian Chetnik and Partisan gangs savagely invaded, during the Second World War, the Croatian, Macedonian, and Albanian territories. Those bands, operating in "enemy territory," committed innumerable crimes and atrocities. The Croatians, Albanians, and Macedonians defended their soil, and in their action retaliated by killing Serbian soldiers and some civilians. This fact, deplorable as it is, doesn't give the Serbs a claim to foreign territories. Likewise, many Germans were killed in France during the war and never developed the idea that Dunkirk is their territory because "German blood fell there!" However, the Serbian political leaders are made of other stuff. They would entirely disregard all ethnic principles because, in their opinion, they are destined to rule the Eastern part of Europe, since they are the "legitimate successors of Byzantium."

In any Yugoslavia, the Croatians and other subjugated nations can only expect a gradual but systematic annihilation which would be the only way to satisfy the insatiable Serbian political appetites. Well aware of these facts, those

nations are allied in their struggle for freedom and political independence, against any form of national or economic exploitation. [24]

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24 The already mentioned American observer, Mr. Richard D. Goodman takes a very sympathetic attitude toward the struggle of oppressed nations for their liberation when he writes: "Not only does the moral and ethical code guarantee to every people (nation) the right to self-determination, so also does the Charter of the United Nations, the Atlantic Charter, and other state documents. Every nation has the right to self-determination, the privilege of organizing and conducting the type of government of its own choosing. It is certain that Yugoslav nationalities comprise such groups for they are all culturally qualified to unite into individual, independent, sovereign states. If the principles of the United Nations' Charter are to be faithfully executed, these peoples must be granted the right to self-determination under the supervision and protection of the United Nations Organization. We must firmly assert and manifest our democratic convictions through concrete and constructive action, that no people are obliged to join a federation unless they so desire — the peoples of Yugoslavia did not sanction collaboration with or inclusion in the present Yugoslav Federal State. We can even more readily comprehend the justification of Croatian and Macedonian resistance to membership in the Yugoslav Federal State because of their previous mistreatment in the first Yugoslavia. These peoples, therefore, have valid and serious reasons for desiring home rule." (Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

Chapter III

SERBIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

Regrettable though it is to have to say so, the fact is that the Serbians have been an intensely chauvinistic nation. This is the unanimous opinion of all impartial observers who have profoundly studied Serbian mentality. For instance, a Roumanian writer, Mr. Konrad Bercovici, in his brilliant, unbiased and colorful study of the Balkans based on his intimate knowledge of this fascinating part of the world, examines the Serbian national character and comes to the following results: "From the point of view of chauvinism the Serbs have been probably the most chauvinistic people in Europe, if not in the world. Because of that attitude, they have been necessarily continually at war. They were the blessed people. They could do no wrong. This continual pressing forward and spreading out have brought Serbia to war, at one time or another, with every one of her neighbors and has often compelled her to ally herself with nations whose alliance she was as anxious to shake off after it was consummated as she was anxious to make it in time of stress. Serb alliances were never worth the paper they were written on, or the ink with which they were signed." [1]

In an article, published in the main organ of the Croatian Peasant Party, **The Croatian Voice** (Hrvatski Glas), Rev. Dr. Dragutin Kamber, discussing the difference between the Croatian and the Serbian character, arrives at these conclusions: "A good part of the Serbians hated the Croatians

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1 Konrad Bercovici, *The Incredible Balkans* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1932), p. 67—68.

in former Yugoslavia. I have noticed that the Serbians did not hate only the Croatians. They hated the Albanians, Macedonians, Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Italians, and even the Montenegrins . . . In general, hatred was the basic characteristic of their soul. It put a seal on their face and eyes . . . This kind of Serbian was reared in an atmosphere of blood and revenge. The great difference between the Croatians and the Serbians lies (among other things) precisely in the fact that among the Croatians revenge is educationally and officially regarded as a crime and it exists only illegaly. Among the Serbians, revenge is educationally and officially regarded as a virtue, and it receives all civil honors. . . In addition to their cult of blood and revenge . . .the Serbians have inherited a Byzantine hatred against the **"Latins"** (Catholics), and a Kossovo-hatred against the **"Turks"** (specifically, for the most part, against the Moslem Croatians) . . . If among the Serbians the spirit of this group of hatred is victorious, they will incite a general war against themselves and will disappear from history in the same way as did the Avars, the Huns, the Vandals and other homicidal nations." [2]

What is the origin of the hatred for the **"Latins"** (Catholics) and the **"Turks"** (Moslems) which is so predominant among many Serbians? L. v. Suedland maintains that the Serbian Orthodox religion inculcates into its devotees a special hatred for every person of a different religion." [3] Many Serbian Orthodox laymen hate all non-Orthodox people (Orthodox believers in Bosnia, for example, live isolated from other people, and the non-Orthodox suffer if they dare to move into an Orthodox community). The Serbian Orthodox intolerance is the reason why Catholics have almost completely dissappeared in some parts of the

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2 Dr. Dragutin Kamber, "Mržnja i zločin", *Hrvatski Glas*, Winnipeg, Man., Canada, Nr. 8, 9, and 10, 1951.

3 Suedland, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Balkans. Danilo Petrović, Vladika (Bishop) and ruler of Montenegro (1697-1735) issued an order in 1702 that all non-Orthodox people must accept the Orthodox religion, or had to move out of the country. All Moslems who did not obey this order were mercilessly slaughtered in accordance with the old Byzantine ideal: One religion in one state. Another ruler of Montenegro, Vladika Rade, Peter Petrović Njegoš (1813—1851) wrote a remarkable epos, **Gorski Vijenac** (Mountain Wreath) in which he glorified the slaughter of the Moslems. However, the Serbs hail Njegoš's epos as a work of unusual greatness and highest morality despite its glorification of genocide. [4]

The Serbian-Orthodox hatred of the Catholics and the Moslems is known to all the experts of Eastern European history (Finlay, Gfroerer, Helfert, Fallmeyer, etc.) [5] L. v. Suedland points out that the real origin of that hatred lies in the hatred of the ancient Greeks for the Romans, i.e., in the hatred of the conquered people with higher culture and weaker character for the less educated but strong willed conqueror, and that this Greek hatred for the Latins is still alive in the Serbian Orthodox Church. [6] However, it would be interesting to study the reasons why the same hatred has dissappeared almost completely from the other Orthodox churches (from the Bulgarian or the Roumanian Orthodox churches), and why has the Serbian hatred crossed its original religious boundaries and has been extended, in recent times, to include other Orthodox peoples like the Bulgarians and the Macedonians.

Hatred inevitably leads to crimes, and so is the Serbian history full of bloody crimes against Serbian neighbors and against fellow Serbs. Dr. Branimir Jelić depicts this in the following way: "One needs only to read a few pages of

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4 Dr. Smail Balić, *Etičko naličje bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, (Vienna: 1952), p. 5.
5 Suedland, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
6 Suedland, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Serbian history to learn of their brutality and cruelty. In the Middle Ages practically every Serbian ruler, or his father, brother, or son, was killed or himself committed something cruel. There was a steady unrest in the country. One has to read the so-called Dušan's Code of Law to learn what sort of crimes existed in Serbia. This continuous internal fight and discord was also the reason why Serbia was unable to defend herself against the attacks and fell to the Turks without effective resistance, and thus became, for centuries, a Turkish dominion. When, in the 19th century, Serbia was free again, the same things happened as before. Only two or three Serbian kings died a natural death, all others were murdered or killed. After the liberation of Serbia, the entire Moslem population was massacred (Pokolj Baša), so today there are no more Moslems in Serbia."[7]

The Serbian hatred for all the Moslems is particularly intense. The Serbs call all of them "Turks" (the Croatian Moslems refuse to accept this name) who must be annihilated in order "to revenge Kossovo" (where the Serbians had been decimated by the Turks in 1389). During the Balkan wars, in 1913, and during the First World War (in 1916) the regular Serbian army committed such obnoxious misdeeds in occupied Albania that they can be only compared with the horrible massacres executed by the Serbian Chetniks in Sanjak, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Dalmatia between 1941 and 1945.[8] A Serbian socialist, Mr. Dimitrije Tucović, was very much ashamed of those crimes, and he condemned them sincerely when he wrote: "Albanian villages, from which people have fled in time, were transformed into places of fire. But at the same time, there were barbarian crematoriums, in which hundreds of women and children were burned alive. And while the rebels only

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7 Dr. Branimir Jelić, "The Croatian Memorandum," *Danica*, (Chicago: Feb. 13, 1952).

8 Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

disarmed Serbian officers and soldiers and let them go free, the Serbian soldiery did not even spare the children, women and the sick." [9] A Moslem document sums up their religious situation as follows: "The fate of the Turks and the Albanian Moslems that were included in pre-war and post-war Serbia (Yugoslavia) can be considered a great tragedy. There were approximately 2 millions of Turks and Albanians who suffered a vicious persecution, forcible evacuations and mass killings by the Serbs during those years." [10] The document continues: "The same fate was to be applied to the Moslems of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The reason why this was not carried out in full, is to be found in the fact that these Moslems did not consider themselves a minority but a part of the Croatian nation. They allied themselves with their national brethren, the Catholic Croats, and thus fighting and suffering together, they saved at least their lives and their existence." [11] In 1917, the Serbian government made plans to exterminate all the Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina after the "liberation" of these provinces and their incorporation into a South-Slavic State, but such plans were dropped at that time because of the energetic opposition of some Croatian members of the Yugoslav Committee, particularly the famous Croatian sculptor, Mr. Ivan Meštrović, a great humanitarian. [12]

According to an outstanding Moslem scholar, Dr. Smail Balić, the Croatian Moslems lost, during the Second World War, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, about 200,000 men, as a result of the slaughter of civilian population, carried out by the Serbian Chetniks. [13] The Moslems lost about one-fourth

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9 D. Tucović, *Srbija i Albanija*, (Beograd-Zagreb: 1946), p. 109.
10 *A Message of Croat-Moslems to their religious brethren in the World*, (Chicago: 1949), p. 8.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
12 Ivan Meštrović, "The Declaration of Corfu," in *The Croatian Nation in its struggle for Freedom and Independence* (Chicago: Croatia, 1954)
13 Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

of their total population. The victims of Serbian massacres were, for the most part, peasants, women, and children. However, long before that time, in 1914, Serbian soldiers slew about 2% of the total population in the Bosnian districts of Foča and Rogatica. In 1924, about 3,000 Croatian Moslems were "liquidated" by the regular Serbian army in Šahovići in Bosnia, and this happened during time of peace.[14] Dr. Balić explains that the tendency of many Serbians to commit such horrible crimes is derived from the fact that during the Turkish occupation most Serbian families were intimately connected with the "**Hayduks**" (brigands) who fought the Turks, but at the same time perpetrated many abominable and cruel crimes as ordinary highway men.[15] The successors of those original Hayduks are the Serbian Chetniks who are very proud of their Hayduk-tradition.[16] The Hayduks and Chetniks alike are honored by the Serbian people as national heroes, their crimes are often glorified by the Serbian writers, and thus, it is no wonder that **Le Bon**[17] attributed criminal instincts to the Serbian nation as a whole, although we know today that nations cannot be made responsible for the actions of their individual members and groups, no matter how large or representative they are. We consider the doctrine of

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14 Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

15 Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

16 A Serbian scholar, Dr. Dušan Popović, writes about the Hayduks: "In our opinion it is not exaggerated to say that there was no family in our (Serbian) people which did not have some connection with the Hayduks; they were either Hayduks or their concealers. To write about the Hayduks, means to write the intimate story of our morals, the story of our soul and our spirit. This is our intimate family story through centuries. These (Hayduk-characteristics) are even today the outstanding qualities of our respectable men, of our best intellectuals . . ." (Popović, *O Hajducima*, Belgrade: 1930) About the Serbian Hayduks see also: Sava M. Štedimlija, *Verschwoerungen gegen den Frieden*, Putovi, Zagreb, 1944, and Sava M. Štedimlija, *Auf dem Balkan*, Putovi, Zagreb 1943. — Both Štedimlija and Balić (*op. cit.*) describe at length the horrible misdeeds and unbelievable cruelties committed by the Hayduks.

17 Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

collective responsibility morally wrong and politically dangerous, and do not say even for a moment that the Serbian nation as a whole should be prosecuted for the misdeeds of some of her members. We agree with Mr. Kljaković when he says: "There are cut-throats in every nation, and they are the misfortune of every nation. They should be punished according to Divine and Human Laws. Nobody could be opposed to such punishment. But to outlaw a whole nation because of some cut-throats is neither human nor Christian." [18]

The Serbian Chetniks, like their predecessors the bloodthirsty Hayduks, have played an important role in Serbian national life. Mr. Leigh White, an American newspaperman friendly to Mihajlović and opposed to Tito, mentions the fact that the movement of General Mihajlović was "anti-Croatian" in nature. [19] Then, he continues: "His (Mihajlović's) followers were largely Chetniks, members of the traditional Serbian militia detachments, or **četas,** which had been so instrumental, in the Balkan Wars and earlier, in founding and enlarging the independent kingdom of Serbia. Since the First World War, however, the Chetniks had become an anachronism; their parochial psychology was unequal to the problems of total warfare. Many Chetniks in fact, supported the quisling Nedić, who believed that Serbia's survival depended on collaboration." [20] Or as Mr. Richard Pattee expresses it: "Long before the outbreak of World War II, the Chetniks had existed in Yugoslavia. Their purpose was antagonism and hostility to the Croatians in the event of an insurrection. The Serbs were well aware of the growing discontent of the Croatian people and of their desire to assert their rightful independence.

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18 Jozo Kljaković, "Croatia", in *Today's World, Vol. 1, No. 2.* (Edinburgh, Jan. 1948), p. 15.

19 Leigh White, *Balkan Caesar,* Tito versus Stalin, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 35.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Taking advantage of this fact they spread the false belief that the Croatians were responsible for the initial massacres which took place with the upheaval of the Yugoslav Government. **Facts prove that it was the Serbian Chetniks who committed the atrocities upon the Croatian populace."** [21]

During the era of the first Yugoslavia, the Croatians have proved that they are a peace-loving people. They attempted to liberate themselves from the Serbian oppression by peaceful and unbloody means. The leaders of the largest Croatian political party, the Croatian Peasant Party, used only parliamentary and peaceful methods to accomplish their political aims. Most certainly, the Croatian Peasant Party was the most peace-loving and the most conciliatory political party in that part of Europe. Its leaders subscribed to Tolstoi's doctrine of nonresistance, and they saw in Gandhi the prototype of a successful leader. Their pacifist attempts to achieve mutual understanding were met by the Serbian ruling circles in a peculiar way. Leading Croatian personalities were imprisoned, tortured, and eventually liquidated in the infamous Yugoslav prisons. Croatian parliamentary leaders were assassinated in Belgrade's Parliament, on June 20, 1928, when Croatian deputies Pavle Radić and Đuro Basariček were killed by a Serbian fanatic. The leader of the Croatian people, Stjepan Radić, died on August 8, 1928, of wounds which he received on the same occasion. On February 19, 1931, the famous Croatian historian, Dr. Milan Šuflaj, was murdered in Zagreb by an agent of the Serbian government. Massacres of Croatian civilian population in the districts of Velebit, Sinj, Senj, etc., followed. Croatian civilians were, on many ocassions, killed by the Serbian gendarmes. Ultimately, all peaceful Croatian strivings were answered by the proclamation of a royal semi-fascist dictatorship, by the Chetnik terror, by an increase of imprisonments, and by an even more pronounced Serbian hegemony. Thus, even the most pacifist

21 Paller, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party saw the necessity to defend the rights of the Croatian people by force if necessary. They founded a defensive organization, under the name of "The Civil and Peasant Guard," to protect the people against the acts of terror and violence on the part of the government.

After the creation of the Croatian state, on April 10, 1941, the fiendish Serbian Chetnik and Communist bands instigated a reign of terror in some Croatian provinces, and the Croatians were forced to defend themselves, some of them using, unfortunately, the methods which they had learned from their Serbian oppressors. As early as April 13, 14, and 15, 1941, the barbarous Serbian Chetniks started to commit atrocities in Croatia by killing 25 Croatian peasants in Ilići and Cim (near Mostar in Hercegovina), and burning 85 houses. On Aug. 2, 1941, in Krnjeuša and Vrtoč, Serbian Chetniks massacred 130 Croatian peasants, including approximately 60 children. [22] On June 28, 1941, a Serbian national holiday (Vidovdan), "the Serbs living in Croatia revolted in many places, attacking the defenseless Croatian people largely because of their hostility to a free and independent Croatian state," [23] which "was left virtually defenseless, with no organized army, while the Serbs, on the contrary, were well prepared both with arms and an effective army." [24] The Croatians retaliated, provoked by the Serbian agression, and on Dec. 20, 1941, Draža Mihajlović, leader of the Serbian Chetniks, and minister of the Royal government in exile, gave an order which included the following paragraphs: " . . . cleaning of state territory of all minorities and un-national elements," "establishment of stable boundaries between Serbia and Montenegro, and also between Serbia and Slovenia, to be accompanied by the extermination of Moslem people in Sanjak, and Croat

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22 Theodore Benković, O.F.M., *The Tragedy of a Nation* (Chicago: 1947), p. 40.
23 Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
24 Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

and Moslem inhabitants in Bosnia and Hercegovina." [25] Thus, the killings of the Croatian population were in no way misdeeds of irresponsible bands. According to the "Message of the Croat-Moslems," " . . . an order of 1941, strictly confidentiallly given by the Royal Minister of War of the Yugoslav government in exile, General Draža Mihajlović (the worst and most cruel killer of the Moslems in history), gave detailed military orders to his troops that, by taking advantage of the military situation, 'they were to destroy all the Moslems in Yugoslavia.'" [26]

There are many official documents which can prove that the Serbian commanders took these orders seriously and executed them wherever possible. A secret order of the Dinarska Chetnik Division No. 22, of March 25, 1942 states: "At the most opportune moment liquidate all the Croats, Catholics and Moslems." [27] A brutish Chetnik leader, Milan Šantić, declared in a talk in Trebinje in July, 1942: "The Serbian country must be cleaned of all Catholics and Moslems, and this must be radical. We shall kill all without mercy and to the very last man, woman or child." [28] Another Chetnik commander, Jovan S. Jelovac, in his order of Feb. 10, 1943, gave this instruction to his troops: "Catch and kill all the Moslems, women and children . . . This is an order from our highest places, and we must execute it. . ." [29]

The worst massacres of the Croatian population during

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25 Benković, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

26 A "Message," *op. cit.*, p. 12. — Cf. also Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 225, who writes: "That they (Chetniks) were bent on driving the Moslem Croats out of Bosnia is proved by a plan in Mihajlović's own handwriting and found in his archives . . . Plans were completed for the expulsion of all Moslem and Catholic Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina and from large regions of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia, all of which were to become parts of the Great Serbian state. This plan was no secret in Yugoslavia."

27 Benković, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

28 Benković, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

29 Dr. Oton Knezović, *"Mihajlović Orders the Slaughter of Croatians,"* Hrvatska Smotra, Buenos Aires, Oct. 1952, p. 25.

World War II occured in Eastern Bosnia, from 1941—1943. Mr. Theodore Uzorinac describes them as follows: "According to the statement of a local Chetnik commander, Mr. Sergije Mihajlović, about 5,000 Moslems were killed in the winter of 1941—1942, in Foča and Goražde (Eastern Bosnia). At Christmas, 1941, some 30 Chetniks entered the monastery of Catholic sisters at Goražde where they found 4 nuns, raped them, slaughtered them, and threw them into the river Drina. In January 1943, major Pavle Đurišić carried out in the district Bijelo Polje a "cleaning action." 49 villages were burned, thousands of Moslems were butchered, and about 2,000 wagons of foodstuff and feed were confiscated. Between Feb. 2 and 6, 1942, many Moslem villages were attacked in the districts Plevlje and Priboj. On this occasion 4,200 Moslems were killed. At Kasindol, the heads of households were surprised at prayer in the Mosque and brutally slaughtered." [30] It is impossible to enumerate all of the savage massacres executed by the criminal bands of Serbian Chetniks. However, the most atrocious one occured at Foča in 1942 where the Chetniks used the Drina-bridge as their slaughter house for Moslem civilian population. Thousands of innocent Moslems, — men, women and children, — were killed by the horrible "operation" of cutting throats (because of such crimes the people named the Serbian Chetniks "cut-throats"). After

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30 Dr. Theodore Uzorinac, "The Secrets of Ravna Gora," *Die Neue Ordnung*, Zagreb, May 14, 1944 — One of Mihajlović's commanders, Pavle Đurišić, reported to him that he has completely eradicated all Moslem villages in the Plevlje, Foča, and Čajniće districts by burning them down and that "during the operations complete annihilation of the Moslem population was undertaken, regardless of sex and age" (" . . . casualties: our total losses were 22 dead; among the Moslems: 1,200 fighters and about 8,000 other casualties . . . women, old men, and children"). Mr. Pavle D. Ostović, quoting this report in his book, writes: "Colonel Đurišić, who was responsbile for these atrocities and numberless other wholesale murders, received, upon the recommendation of Draža Mihajlović, the highest Yugoslav decoration 'for valor,' and as it happened, he simultaneously received from Hitler the Order of the Iron Cross 'for his services to the Nazis'" (*op cit.*, p. 224.).

doing this, the Chetniks tossed the killed Moslems into the river. Thousands and thousands of Croatian civilians were exterminated in this bestial manner. [30a]

In this horrible business of killing non-Serbs and political enemies, the Serbian Chetniks were engaged in eager competition with the Serbian Communists. Occasionally they fought each other, but in their hatred of the Croatians, and particularly of the Catholic and Moslem religions, they were in agreement. "It was not until 1951 that it could be proved that in the Croat Dioceses 371 priests had been murdered as well as 18 seminarians, 5 lay brothers, 11 in religious orders, and thousands of Catholic intellectuals. Of this total, 26 priests and 5 friars were murdered by the Serbian Chetniks of Draža Mihajlović." [31]

It would lead us too far to enumerate all the infernal atrocities of the Serbian Chetniks and Tito's Communists in Catholic and Moslem Croatia. [32] It is estimated, how-

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30a The evidence on this point is so convincing that even one of the typical pro-Serbian apologists, Mr. Wayne Vucinich, (see the article "Yugoslavs of the Moslem faith" in the symposium *"Yugoslavia"*, *op. cit.*, p. 261. ff.), after quoting some of the usual Serbian distortions about the Croatian Moslems, must ultimately admit that *"in 1941 and even later the Chetniks carried out indiscriminate terror raids against Moslem settlements,"* and that *"a large number of Moslems in areas along the Drina and elsewhere in Bosnia were killed"* (p.272.). However, Mr. Vucinich is evidently twisting the facts when he maintains that the Moslems were the ones that "provoked a bloody revenge on the part of the Chetniks." The articles by Mr. Alija Horić ("Muslimani i treća Jugoslavija", *Američki Hrvatski Glasnik*, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 27, 1954, etc.), and the significant and scholarly book by Dr. Smail Balić *(op. cit.)*, have presented conclusive and documentary evidence that the massacres of the innocent Moslem population were initiated by the Serbian Chetniks. In 1941 they only put into operation an old Serbian plan to exterminate all the "Turks," as they scornfully call the Croatian Moslems.

31 *Croatia* (pamphlet), Madrid 1952, p. 25.

32 Documentary material about Chetnik and Communist crimes in Croatia, in 1941, is contained in the book by Matija Kovačić, *Greultaten und Verwüstungen der Aufrührer im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien in den ersten Lebensmonaten des kroatischen Nationalstaates*, (Zagreb: 1942), p. 194.

ever, that during that period about one million Croats were killed by their enemies. [33]

Finally, let us mention here the wanton massacre of Croatian refugees after the end of the Second World War at Bleiburg, Dravograd, Maribor, Samobor, etc., in May 1945. More than 100,000 Croats (prisoners of war and refugees) were ordered to be killed by the Serbian Partisan general Koča Popović (now Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs!), after being handed over to the Communists by the British army. These Croatian men, women and children were slaughtered by the Communists in the most cruel manner. This is certainly the worst, and the least mentioned, war crime of the Second World War, and Tito and his henchmen are, as its perpetrators, on top of those war criminals, who, for the moment, have escaped their just punishment. [34]

It is true, there were some organizations and groups on the Croatian side which during the war answered brutality with brutality, and committed likewise such crimes against the Serbs. "But I wish to point out" — explains a Croatian political leader, — "that the Croatian Nation never agreed with this behavior, for which she condemned the Serbs before. However, there was not a single person on the Serbian side to condemn the acts of brutality committed by the fellow Serbs on the Croatian Catholic and Moslem population. In Croatia, it was different. The Croatian

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33 Cf. *Unitas*, Rome: No. 2, 1946, p. 4.

34 Mr. Goodman (*op. cit.*, p. 41. ff.) interviewed a Yugoslav representative, Mr. Stanovnich, about the infamous Bleiburg massacres "which were committed under the express command and direct leadership of the present Yugoslav government." Mr. Stanovnich tried to vindicate that deliberate mass murder in the following terms: "What would you have done to such an imperialistic and inimical group who forcefully challenged the leadership of a man of your choice, my dear Mr. Goodman? Would you have permitted it to run wild and continue its imperialism? . . . This group was an enemy of the state and the people . . . Such a threat to our national security had to be repelled with efficient and effective measures."

Catholic Church dignitaries, with Archbishop Stepinac at the head, quite openly expressed their disagreement with such deeds. . . ."[35] It must be kept in mind that "bands of Chetniks and Partisans crossed the borders of the State of Croatia to plunder and kill the Croat Catholics and Moslems alike. It is not recorded that Ustasha or Croatian soldiery set foot in Serbia during the last war."[36] The Croatian commentary on those unfortunate events was published in a publication ("Unitas") which propagates the idea of Church unity. It stressed the following points:

1. As men, as Catholics, and as Croats, we profoundly deplore the thousands of innocent war victims, and sincerely condemn the spirit of violence and bloodshed by the members of any nation.

2. The whole Croatian nation greeted the re-establishment of the Croatian State, and to the last moment defended heroically its existence from April 10, 1941 until May 6, 1945.

3. Before the Croatian nation was able to organize its power throughout the country, the Serbian Chetniks began with the killings of the unarmed people and the disarmed Croatian soldiers, adherents of the former Yugoslav army

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35 Dr. Jelić, *op. cit.*, p. 5. — The pastoral letter of Croatian Bishops of March 24, 1945 (published in *Katolički List* in Zagreb on March 25, 1945) says: "A pacifistic disposition is the keystone of the Croatian mind, and this love of peace, especially from 1918 on, both the spiritual and civil leaders of Croatian people eagerly cultivated and professed. The blame for the futility of our labor rests upon those who dealt death to the Croatian leaders . . . Innocent Croatian blood shed in the time of two world wars in many cities and villages of Croatia, even in the Belgrade Parliament. . . . When war, not provoked by the Croats because they had neither political power nor arms . . . overwhelmed our land then, in many regions, the iniquitious enemy massacred many Croatian inhabitants, announcing the extermination of our nation. Following this, unfortunately, among Croats were found those who returned killing for killing. Such measures the Bishops of Croatia not only condemned, but also prevented, although attacked by those who did not want to approve this."

36 Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

(April 10-13, 1941), in Čapljina, Ilići, Knin, Drniš, Djakovo, Modrica, Derventa, etc.

4. Serbian Chetniks and Tito's Partisans gathered from all parts of the Balkan. They undertook to destroy Croatia and to extirpate biologically the Croatian nation. Our common people called their alliance the "concubinage of Orthodoxism and bolshevism."

5. During the war (1941—1945) no Croats crossed the Serbian border while the Serbs from Serbia came to Croatia in tens of thousands causing trouble and massacring innocent Croatian people.

6. The Croatian nation was in a state of self-defense. [37]

Despite all their unpleasant experiences, the Croatians express a fervent wish to forget the last 30 years and to continue a peaceful existence as an independent nation. However, most Serbians still seek their "revenge," perfidiously denouncing the Catholic and Moslem Croats on all possible occasions, and continuing to sing their very popular song: "Oh, Croats, how we shall kill you, when King Peter comes back home." [38] Mr. Adam Pribićević, an outstanding leader of the exiled Serbians, threatens, in one of his articles, that if the Croatian state were formed again, the Serbian guerillas would fight it with all legal and illegal means, as they did in the past, by "sabotage, assassinations, and bombs," promising also that the Serbians "will even create a common front with the Italians [39] and the Hungarians in order to destroy the Croatian state." He states that the Serbians were not inactive in 1945, thus, "who could

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37 "The Paradox of Yugoslavia and the Idea of Unitas," *Unitas*, Roma, No. 2, 1946.

38 Benković, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

39 It is not without significance that in the fracas over Trieste,in the fall of 1953, a conspicuous Serbian leader and President of the Serbian Central Committee in the U.S., Mr. Constantin Fotić, wrote a letter to the Washington Post suporting the Italian thesis of a plebiscite. And during the last war, the Serbian minority in Dalmatia allied itself with the Italian fascists, and supported them in their struggle against the Croatian independence.

expect them to be inactive if a new Croatian state is created, under the leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party."[40] Unfortunately, the Serbian exiles have not ceased their propaganda of hatred against the Croatians, and are inciting their masses to new crimes just as they did in the first Yugoslavia. A former professor of the University of Belgrade has recently published a pamphlet in Canada, in which he has proclaimed the idea that the Croatians are the principal enemies of Serbia and that the entire Croatian nation should be severely punished for the misdeeds of some of her members.[41] Another Serbian professor has considered it as his foremost duty to ransack libraries and to collect informations about the alleged misconduct of Croatian soldiers in the Thirty Years War (1618—1648) when, as a matter of fact, no participating nation showed great enthusiasm for the principles of humane warfare.[42] Yet, this Serbian professor has used the doubtful descriptions of that war, of which many included the misbehavior of the Serbians too, to compound a racist theory of an "inherently evil" Croatian nation. This shows that, unfortunately, the Serbian hatred knows no limits and makes blind even some of their scholars, and particularly many of their "democratic" political leaders.

There is, for example, the case of the leader of the Serbian Peasant Party, Mr. Milan Gavrilović, who is not less chauvinistic than the infamous Chetnik cut-throats. Mr. Bogdan Radica says about him: "The conflict between Serbdom in Yugoslavia and the Croatian people is the conflict of two conceptions: one, which has, through the tradition of Byzantium, identified Church and State, and the second, which under the influence of the West was always

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40 Adam Pribićević, "Do Mitrovice i dalje", *Glas kanadskih Srba*, No. 1087, 1952.

41 Dr. L. P. Popović, *Koji su glavni i osnovni srpski zlotvori?*, (Toronto: Srpska knjiga, 1953), p. 22.

42 Dr. Lazar M. Kostić, *Primjeri hiljadugodišnje kulture Hrvata* (*Zločini Hrvata u 30-godišnjem ratu*), (Chicago: Srpska Narodna Obrana, 1952)

separating the spiritual from political. This is the reason why Dr. Milan Gavrilović published his editorial in Belgrade's paper 'Politika' which has been attributed to him and only to him, in which it was said that Stjepan Radić fought the state and that in that fight the state was stronger than he was (**Politika,** June 20, 1928). — "Everyone who read at that time the editorials in **Politika,** attributed to Dr. Gavrilović, knows very well that they had prepared the atmosphere of Belgrade's massacre. There is a living witness who can tell, how in the house of Mr. Joca Pižon-Jovanović, Dr. Milan Gavrilović many times pathetically repeated, during his talk about the Croatians and Stjepan Radić, 'blood must fall, blood must be shed.' "[43] At that time the chief Serbian slogans were: "The skulls shall crash," and "We shall kill your children in the cradles and exterminate you all."[44] Such was the political atmosphere of the Serbian capital in 1928, and since then it has not fundamentally changed.

It is commonly known that more than any other people in Eastern Europe, the Serbian ruling classes possess the tendency to hate their neighbors. The material published in this chapter supports and amplifies this statement. The great tragedy of that able but agressive people is that their political leaders have often served as instigators of various individual and collective crimes, like the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in Sarajevo, in 1914, or the murder of Pavle Radić and Đuro Basariček, in 1928. The Serbian leaders have also incited their masses

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43 Bogdan Radica, "Govor Milana Gavrilovića", *Hrvatski Glas,* (Winnipeg, Canada: July 31, 1951.) — These data are important in so far as they portray the picture of a man who is the leader of an allegedly "democratic" Serbian political party but whose viewpoints are inherently totalitarian, full of national bias, prejudice and hatred.

44 Dr. Jelić, *op. cit.,* p. 3. — Mr. Jelić also remarks: "When, however, their brutal behavior forced some Croats, during the Second World War, to adopt Serbian methods of struggle, the Serbs were besides themselves with fury, considering those methods their own privilege."

to commit genocide on a large scale, as in the case of the Macedonians, Albanians, and Croatians, which only led to civil wars and disgraceful and un-Christian mutual exterminations. If the Serbian leaders do not curb their heinous hatred and do not stop their scandalous instigation to crime, the future of the Balkan Peninsula does not appear to be too safe. Since there are no signs of change in the Serbian character, the endangered Serbian neighbors must be always prepared to defend themselves against Serbian agressions.

As for the Croatians, they have never attacked anyone in their long history. They never attempted to conquer foreign territories. In the 7th century, they signed a pact of non-agression with Pope Agatho promising him that they would never engage in agressive warfare. For centuries, the Croats fought only defensive wars in order to protect the West against invasions from the East (against the Avars, the Mongols, the Ottoman Turks). In those unhappy wars, they had often been decimated, but their struggle for protection and liberty of Europe against foreign invaders, earned them the title **"Antemurale Christianitatis,"** or "the most solid shield and bulwark of Christianity" (Pope Leo X.). As Rev. Edward Lodge Curran correctly remarks: "That promise (not to engage in agressive warfare) has been redeemed throughout every century of Croatian national life. The independence of Croatia was therefore accomplished without tresspassing upon the rights or possessions of any of its neighbors. The Croatian nation has never subscribed to the imperial doctrine that national independence can be secured and maintained only by holding other nations in subjection. Long before Woodrow Wilson, the Croatian nation believed in the self-determination of small nationalities. No imperial tyrants, such as Catherine the Great of Russia, Napoleon of France or Elizabeth of England, ever stained the history of Croatia with

their outrageous presence and pride and performances. The Croatian nation desired two things: to live in peace with its neighbors and to live in peace with Christ." [45]

There is no doubt that Croatia and the Croatian people have suffered immensely during the last war and its aftermath. Great losses in life and property were caused by five different armies fighting on the comparatively small Croat territory, and by the heavy bombings by the Allied air forces. [46] True enough, the Serbs have had their losses, too. However, it is an undeniable, though regrettable fact, that "in war, civil war, and persecution, the Croats lost almost twice as many lives as the Serbs." [47]

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45 Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Ph. D., *Stepinac or Tito?*, (Brooklyn: International Catholic Truth Society, n.d.), p. 4. Father Curran's comparison between Croatia and Ireland is very illuminating. He writes: "Throughout her long history Croatia has been the 'Ireland of the Balkans.' Like Ireland, Croatia has always remained true to the Catholic Church. Like Ireland, Croatia has always struggled to secure her complete political independence. For more than seven hundred years, Ireland fought against the political and economic and religious tyranny which England imposed upon her. For more than five hundred years Croatia fought against the political and economic and religious tyranny which, first Turkey, then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and lastly, an artificially constructed Yugoslavia tried to impose upon her . . . Even in Croatia's rapid embrace of Christianity we are reminded of Ireland. What Saint Patrick accomplished for the Irish in his lifetime, was similarly accomplished for the Croats by the Benedictine Abbot Martin and John of Ravenna, the two missionaries sent to the Croatian nation by Pope John IV (640—644). So enthusiastically was Christianity welcomed in Croatia that a Catholic hierarchy was immediately established. By the end of the seventh century Croatia had become a Christian nation, and by the ninth had attained her full political independence." (p. 2—3).

46 Anthony Henry Count O'Brien of Thomond, *Archbishop Stepinac and His Case*, (Westminster: The Newman Bookshop, 1947), p. 23.

47 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Chapter IV

SERBIAN MONARCHY

There is another important factor which excludes any possibility of a permanent union between Croatia and Serbia. It is the Serbian monarchy. The Croatian Peasant leader, Stjepan Radić, implanted a great love for the republican form of government into the hearts of the Croatian people. In their opinion, monarchy is an obsolete institution and cannot be tolerated in a free country, except in such instances as Great Britain where it serves only as a symbol of the Empire. On the other hand, a great majority of the Serbian people are monarchists.[1] Although ex-King Peter II. Karađorđević is personally very unpopular among the Serbians because of his marital, political, financial, and espionage adventures, most of them desire his return to the throne, according to a very peculiar Serbian slogan: **Hoćemo kralja, iako ne valja** (We want the King even if he is no good). The Croatians, however, do not relish the monarchy, and especially a foreign monarchy. When during the Second World War the Italians tried to impose a member of the house of Savoy upon the Croatian people

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1 According to Dr. Josef Korbel (*op. cit.*, p. 38—39.), there has been for many years among the Serbian intelligentsia a strong tendency to discard the Karađorđević dynasty and to establish a republic. "Among the Croatians the same feeling was almost general," Dr. Korbel continues, "they had no sentimental ties with the dynasty which was so closely linked with the history of the Serbian nation. They resented deeply that the King one-sidedly supported the tendencies of the Serbian hegemony. The largest Croat party, representing practically the whole Croat nation, adhered to a republican program as formulated by its leader, Stephan Radić, during World War I. As to the Slovenes, they had no bias in the question of the dynasty, and they lacked any tradition in sympathy with a monarchy."

as their king, so much enmity developed against him in Croatia that he never dared to enter the country, or to take over "his throne." In a similar way, the Serbian dynasty is absolutely unacceptable to the Croatians, and the Serbians know this. "The dynasty is Serbian, and as such undesirable for the Croatians," writes a Serbian politician.[2]

A Croatian writer expresses the same opinion in the following manner: "There is another fact which we can connect with this discussion. It is the imposition of the Serbian dynasty to rule non-Serbians. This was a cunning attack against all the non-Serbians. The dynasty was established, and by politics and kinship connected with other royal houses; any criticism of that family was prohibited by law. Not a single Croatian is so foolish as not to realize that equality with the Serbians in Yugoslavia was not possible as long as they had their own dynasty which supported them."[3]

Moreover, that dynasty is not only Serbian and as such inimical to all non-Serbians, but it is also highly discredited in the eyes of all impartial observers. According to a Serbian source, Mr. Desimir Tošić, both Serbian dynasties, Obrenović's and Karađorđević's, are of peasant origin and thus love the peasants. This is, of course, a very remarkable characteristic. Much less remarkable is the fact that all Serbian rulers (except Peter I. Karađorđević) were passionately devoted to various business transactions. Mr. Tošić describes this as follows: "Our kings (except Peter I) did not only like to engage indirectly in business activity by giving money to their trusted men, but also directly. In this respect, Duke Miloš and King Milan went very far. They were inclined to low business deals and malversations. Our (Serbian) kings, in connection with their love for trade, have another characteristic: they become angry when

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2 Milosavljević, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

3 Dr. D. Kamber, in *Hrvatski Glas*, No. 10, 1951.

somebody reproaches them for engaging in trade, or when they are informed that trade is not fit for kings and dukes; all this because they would hate to discontinue their business deals. On the contrary, they have all possessed a general characteristic to show much more love for saltmines, gardening, mining, banking, etc., than for the preaching of morals." [4]

Another important fact about the Serbian monarchy was the existence of rival monarchies in Serbia. Mr. Tošić explains the Serbian royal situation as follows: "In the period from 1804—1918, i.e., for the period of 114 years, there were 11 reigns (in Serbia) . . . This means that a reigning period lasted a little more than 10 years. Our Serbian monarchy was very unstable. The struggle between the Karađorđević and Obrenović dynasties lasted almost a century, and, in 1903, it was finally decided in favor of the former. Of all the Serbian rulers only Miloš and Petar I. died on the throne, a natural death, but both of them came to the throne after exile. Karađorđe was killed by Miloš in 1817, Duke Alexander Karađorđević died in exile in 1885, Duke Mihailo was killed by a group of conspirators in 1868, King Milan died in exile, his son Alexander was killed in Belgrade in 1903, King Alexander was killed in 1934 in France. . . Although in complete uncertainty about the dynastic question, the Serbian people have no inclinations toward a republic. . ." [5]

In his book "The Incredible Balkans," Mr. Konrad Bercovici describes the incessant struggle between the two Serbian dynasties, Obrenovićs and Karađorđevićs. He relates extensively the adventurous story of the Obrenović family, coming to the conclusion that "compared to the Karađorđevićs the Obrenovićs were angels." And then he continues: "The very founder of the Karađorđević dynasty,

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4 Tošić, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
5 Tošić, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Kara George himself, who had originally served an apprenticeship pillaging Serbia, with a renowned Turkish brigand of that day, killed his best friend before he fled to Austria where he enlisted as a sergeant in the army to fight against Turkey. After killing one of his superiors in the Austrian army, he returned to Serbia where he settled as a dealer in cattle and swine. Taking advantage of an uprising, Kara George made himself King and compelled the National Council to recognize his lawful descendants as rulers, swore to treat his people as a father, and became His Majesty, the King of Serbia. He met his end at the hand of his intimate friend and associate, Miloš Obrenović, who murdered him in his sleep and sent his head, with His Majesty's compliments, to the Sultan at Constantinople. While still King, Kara George killed his own father and hanged his brother, and even pounded his mother into insensibility because she was mourning her son whom he had killed. During his lifetime Kara George had killed, by his own admission, one hundred and twenty-five men with his own hand. It is told that on one occasion, while eating meat from a plate, he transferred the knife to his left hand to kill a man; then transferred it back to his right hand and resumed eating, the human blood still dripping from his knife and the dead man beside him." [6]

Furthermore, Mr. Bercovici describes how the regicides became most powerful politically after the slaughter of king Alexander Obrenović and his wife Draga Mašin (in 1903), and then continues: "The regicides, indeed, were the saviors of the country. They had just saved it from the Obrenovićs. Prince Peter Karađorđević, a direct descendant of Kara George, was unanimously elected to the throne. He returned from the boulevards of Paris with great glee. For a while both the new ruler and his family denied that

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6 Berkovici, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

they had anything to do with the killing of the former royal pair, and promised to punish the murderers. But those were merely political denials; the people knew that the Karađorđevićs had come into power in their usual way and that no one was to be punished for the murder of Alexander and Draga. Prince Peter was not the man to allow the Senate to rule him; and so the Senate disappeared. He ruled with the help of the regicides. Austria, Russia, and Hungary congratulated the new ruler upon his ascent to the throne, but all the other powers withdrew their ministers to protest against the manner in which the regicides were favored. Not one of them was punished and no attempt was made to bring them to justice. The regicides continued the good work in defiance of civilization. Those of Alexander's and Draga's party who had not been killed were thrown into dungeons, whence they never emerged alive, and were done away with, by torture and strangling, at the hands of the regicides themselves or at their instigation. The military party ruled by its usual method: terror. Neither France nor Austria-Hungary protested very violently . . . When the Crown Prince George, King Peter's son, killed his valet in a fit of rage and, as a consequence of the scandal, renounced his right to succession, his younger brother, Alexander, became the Heir Apparent." [7]

About the rule of Alexander Karađorđević (assassinated in Marseille in 1934), Mr. Bercovici writes: "The actual political conditions of Yugoslavia depend entirely upon the whim and the pleasure of its King, Alexander . . . Alexander acts as though the will of the people counts for nothing when compared to the will of the one man who stands at their head. He forms and breaks alliances. He promulgates and abandons laws. He rules without a Constitution, without a Parliament, without a

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7 Bercovici, *op. cit.*, p. 81—82.

Cabinet; he is everything by himself. He has all the portfolios. He is the dictator of Yugoslavia." [8]

Mr. Desimir Tošić, himself a Serbian monarchist, admits that most of the Serbian monarchs were despots. However, he says, they had to fight for their absolute power, and some of them had to pay dearly with their own head for their despotism. "The basic tendency of our (Serbian) monarchies in political action was expressed in the fight against political parties. . . In the struggle against free political forces, our dynasties used coup d'etats as their means . . . Constitutions became like ordinary government orders, transformed according to the circumstances and the people. When coup d'etats, or steady changes in undemocratic constitutions, were insufficient, our rulers were used to establishing court-martials . . . taken as a whole, our rulers have enjoyed a greater reputation than they deserved . . . However, their reputation in foreign lands was very poor . . . Except for Peter I, all our rulers, we could say, were against parliamentarism; they were for their unlimited power." [9]

Taking into consideration all these facts, frankly admitted by the Serbians themselves, it is no wonder that both Serbian dynasties have never had a good reputation in Croatia. Moreover, they have always served as an instrument to promote Serbian hegemony over other nations. This became very apparent in 1929 when King Alexander Karađorđević of Yugoslavia organized a coup d'etat, abolishing the Constitution and introducing his personal dictatorship. The Croatian name, the Croatian flag, and the Croatian organizations were prohibited by the dictator, and every violation of this order became punishable under a very strict code, the law for the protection of the state, which was patterned after a similar Soviet code. During the period of

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8 Bercovici, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
9 Tošić, *op. cit.*, p. 73—74.

open royal dictatorship which was proclaimed on Jan. 6, 1929, it was a crime to call himself a Croatian, but it was patriotic to boast to be a Serbian. While the Serbian flag was the official flag of the Serbian Orthodox Church, anybody who would have hoisted a Croatian flag (red-white-blue) was punished by fine or imprisonment. Under Alexander I, the savage persecution of the Croatians in every conceivable form reached its peak. "As a soldier," writes Mr. Roucek, "he tried to apply the military mentality to his problems . . . General Petar Živković, one of the conspirators who murdered Alexander Obrenović and his Queen Draga in 1903, was appointed Premier to run the government by decree. Systematically the government tightened its hold on the country, aiming at as complete a centralization as possible. All parties were dissolved and all local autonomy went by the board. Croat and other newspapers were strictly censored. On October 3, 1929, the old official title of the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes' was replaced by that of the "Kingdom of Yugoslavia." The historic frontiers of the provinces were replaced by nine banats (**banovinas**), and all confessional schools were integrated with a strict (Serbian) nationalistic system of education. The methods of government, as could have been expected, were not always gentle, and police brutalities acquired a new regularity." [10] However, violence breeds violence, and King Alexander lost his life in Marseille on October 9, 1934.

His son Peter II did not remain far behind his father. He came to the throne on March 27, 1941 in a coup d'etat and lost it a few days later when the Germans invaded Yugoslavia. He has always been a pronounced enemy of the Croatian nation. During the Second World War, the British Broadcasting Corporation sent out messages in Croatian and Serbian, quoting names of prominent people who were

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10 Roucek, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

in opposition to the King or General Mihajlović, and adding a letter Z (**zaklati** = throat-cutting). It meant that persons who had been mentioned in this manner had to be "liquidated." Those messages were written by the exile government under King Peter, and he personally participated in this homicidal outrage. He freely showered decorations on Chetnik commanders who took part in the worst atrocities committed against the Croatian people. These are some of the reasons why Peter Karađorđević is regarded by the Croatian people as a war criminal, and if he ever enters a free Croatia, he will be arrested and tried as such." [11] Evidence against him is overwhelming since he personally gave orders to his Chetnik bands (he was their supreme commander) to kill innocent people in different parts of Croatia. After the war, Peter Karađorđević even posed for photographs with the worst Chetnik cut-throats, who have been responsible for the slaughter of thousands of innocent Croatians. He also collaborated in the publication of a slanderous book by Avro Manhattan in which the Croatian nation and the Catholic Church have been libeled in the most insolent manner. At any rate, the Croatians will never forget the crimes and misdeeds of the Serbian

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11 According to a statement in the Serbian paper "The Canadian Srbobran" *(Kanadski Srbobran)* of Oct. 6, 1952, "putting somebody under the letter 'Z' *(zaklati* = slaughter = throat-cutting) was proposed by Draža Mihajlović, but His Majesty, the King, was the person who himself rendered decisions." On the basis of this statement, a Croatian paper, "The Morning Star" (*Danica*) of Oct. 22, 1952, declares: "Since Peter Karadordević personally gave orders who of the Croatians should be killed, he was placed on the Croatian list of war criminals. If he ever enters a free Croatian state, he should be tried as such. Also, it will be necessary that a future Croatian government asks for his extradition in order to satisfy justice and give satisfaction to the Croatian people for all the crimes which were committed by the Pan-Serbian Chetniks in the Croatian provinces." — During the trial of Draža Mihajlović, this man frankly admitted: "I was the chief of the Black Threes, I informed Radio London who should be placed under the letter 'Z'" (*The Trial of Draža Mihajlović*, Belgrade, 1946, p. 341.). But as already explained, final decision about who should be killed was always rendered by the ex-King Peter Karadordević.

dynasty against them, and will stand up as a single man should it ever try again to rule their country.

Otherwise, the ex-King Peter Karađorđević is well-known in the world by his financial scandals, by the passing of bad checks, and by his marital affairs. His newest accomplishments, in the fall of 1953, were the signing of an uncovered check which bounced, and the divorce suit against his wife, Alexandra. Recently, a Serbian monthly "Our Word" (**Naša Reč**), published a letter by a Serbian émigré in which he asked the question why does the exiled Serbian press conceal the news about the signing of an uncovered check for 10,000 dollars by the ex-King, and about his divorce from the ex-Queen Alexandra, who thereafter tried to commit suicide.[12] However, the Serbian paper has not answered these questions. But the answer is obvious: the Serbian newspapers are desperately trying to protect the reputation of their "king," so they do not publish any of those derogatory news items about him which have so often appeared in the columns of all well-informed newspapers.

Despite their present silence, many Serbian monarchists have come to the conclusion that the ex-King is a heavy liability for the Serbian cause, and at least on one occasion in the past they expressed openly their feelings. In October, 1949, the Serbian political parties published an open letter to him, in which they protested his practice of speaking alone for the Serbian people, despite his promises to the contrary.[13] The Serbians particularly objected to Peter's order of Nov. 12, 1944, in which he instructed his Chetnik formations to subordinate themselves to Tito. The Serbian politicians accused their ex-King of allying himself "with the darkest characters of our emigration." The Serbian letter ends as follows: "In this moment we accuse you before the Serbian people that you have been betraying the

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12 *Naša Reč* (Paris: Nov., 1953., No. 49., Vol. VI.), letter by Mr. Miodrag Petrović.
13 "Srbi i njihov kralj Petar", *Hrvatska,* (Buenos Aires: Dec. 1, 1949), p. 5.

holy interests of our country, and that you have been selling your crown and the people for dirty money . . . By bringing this accusation before the people and you, we, the representatives of the Serbian political parties, take the strongest exception to all your future acts, regarding them as the deeds of a man who lost his honor for money." [14] Despite this very severe condemnation of their "beloved king," the leaders of the Serbian political parties, have, in the meantime, patched up their differences with him, tolerating without protest his subsequent adventures. Only a Serbian socialist, Mr. Živko Topalović, has repeatedly, in his paper, the **"Sindikalist"**, assailed the misbehavior of ex-King Peter.

Among his other adventures, we must particularly mention his cooperation with the espionage agents of the Cominform. A Paris newspaper, **Le Franctireur,** (No. 2083, April 9, 1951) published a news report concerning the arrest by French police of some Serbian royalists who were intimate collaborators of ex-King Peter. They were accused of some secret deals with the Soviet intelligence service, and were subsequently expelled from France. A similar story was published in a Swiss newspaper, **La Nation,** (Nov. 12, 1952) in which the ex-King Peter was accused of very close relations with some of the agents of Soviet intelligence who were arrested in Austria by the British authorities. The deal between them and the ex-King, according to this report, was based on "mutual interest" (exchange of intelligence material for some financial considerations). A former Serbian police officer, the right hand man of the ex-King, Mr. Vladeta Milićević, played an outstanding part in this sordid affair. Because of such misbehavior, Mr. Milićević was assailed in the Serbian paper **Srpske Novine** (Rome) by a Chetnik-leader, Mr. Dobroslav Jevđević.

The Secretary-General of the Croatian Peasant Party, Dr. Juraj Krnjević, has sharply criticized the attitude of

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14 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

ex-King Peter during and after the last war, in the party organ **"Hrvatski Glas."** He has accused Peter Karađorđević that in difficult hours for the state and the people he behaved shamelessly and thoughtlessly, "by giving in a criminal manner legality and his blessing to the Communist regime." [15] He lived in a free country where no physical force could be imposed upon him. Dr. Krnjević continues: "Yet Peter not only renounced his royal power . . . but he directly created the necessary prerequisites for a recognition of Tito's Communist regime by the community of nations, giving power to Tito on the basis of dictatorial powers given to him by Alexander's dictatorial constitution. Not a single one of all the deposed kings did behave so shamelessly and irresponsibly as Peter . . . On top of all this, it is most shameful that Peter had respect only for his own material interests . . . He handed over his power to Tito . . . and for himself he secured, as a counter-favor, that Tito pay him the same salary which he had received before the defeat of Yugoslavia . . . Peter Karađorđević and his mother Maria quarelled because of the salary he received from Tito, and what is even more shameful, they denounced each other to Tito, demanding his decision as to who will receive the salary . . ." [16] Mr. Tošić is obviously on the right track when he declares that the Serbian dynasties have had a pronounced tendency for low business deals, and that they have always been much more interested in money and women than in "their" people.

The Serbian monthly **Naša Reč** has accused the king that on September 12, 1944, in a speech over Radio London, he invited all the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes "to unite and join the People's liberation army of Marshall Tito." [17] The defenders of the king contend that he was forced by

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15 Published in *Danica* (The Morning Star), (Chicago, Ill.: Aug. 27, 1952), p.2.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
17 *Naša Reć*, Nov. 1953, Vol. VI., No. 49, p. 7.

Mr. Winston Churchill to make that speech.[18] To disprove this, **Naša Reč** quotes another speech, made by the ex-King Peter on Oct. 21, 1944, in which he glorified "the liberation of Belgrade" as a "common success of the Yugoslav People's liberation army, and the glorious Red Army," and expressed his gratefulness to the "heroic People's Liberation Army and personally to Marshal Tito," also to the "brotherly and allied Red army and its great leader Stalin." According to Naša Reč this disgraceful speech was published in the official paper of the Yugoslav Government (**Službene Novine**, No. 20, of Oct. 25, 1944, p. 2, col. 2.).[19] **Naša Reč** quotes also an interview of ex-King Peter with an English newspaper, the Daily Express, of Sept. 11, 1953, according to which he had "financial relations with the government (of Marshal Tito) until Aug. 8, 1945." There is hardly anything more grotesque than to see and hear a deposed king, how he glorifies Stalin and the Red Army. Such ridiculous conduct indicates a complete absence of character and morals.

Ex-King Peter knows well that all the Croatians, Macedonians, and many Slovenes, do not regard him as their king but he possesses an amazing insolence to pretend to be still "the king of the Yugoslav people." The Serbian monarchists, who are a little bit more realistic than their ex-King, recognize that the chances for a restoration of the Serbian monarchy in our modern world are nil. Mr. Dobroslav Jevđević, a Chetnik leader and an ardent Serbian monarchist, confirms this in his article on "The Monarchy and the Yugoslavs." He states "We can be only grateful to special circumstances that the first Yugoslavia accepted the monarchy and the Karađorđević dynasty. The Slovenians were its enemies mainly for Catholic motives, and the Croatians opposed it integrally for religious and national reasons. The first act of the legitimate representative of the Croatian

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18 Fotić, *op. cit.*, p. 245 ff.
19 Naša Reč, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

people, the Croatian **Sabor** (Parliament) . . . was the decision not to accept the monarchical rule and the Karađorđević dynasty. At that moment, the Croatians did not restrict themselves to academic decisions, but their regiments in Zagreb staged an armed rebellion to prevent the realization of the Yugoslav monarchy." [20] Jevđević acknowledges the fact that the Croatian people have always been against the Serbian monarchy. He boasts, however, that the Serbian divisions, by occupying the Croatian and Slovenian territories, were able to impose their will upon the Croatian people. He finds that the conditions today are quite different from those in 1918, and estimates the position of the Serbian monarchy as extremely precarious. He continues: "The principally negative Croatian standpoint of 1918 toward the monarchy and the Karađorđevićs has now reached the phase of a delirium of hatred. At that time, there were at least some Croatian groups willing to tolerate the monarchy; now, the largest and the most tolerant Croatian group, Dr. Maček's, when talking about the misfortunes of the pre-war state, refers to it as "Karađorđević's Yugoslavia," and treats the bearer of the crown with scorn and disrespect." [21]

Mr. Jevđević emphasizes that the utmost the Serbians could expect from the Western Allies in case of Tito's fall was a plebiscite about the monarchy, which would, in his opinion, mean the end of the Serbian monarchy. The monarchy would certainly be defeated in such a plebiscite. Mr. Jevđević states: "Monarchies are not institutions whose fate should be decided by a plebiscite . . . Against the monarchy would vote the Croatian Ustashi, the Serbs of Marxian orientation . . . and the Maček's followers, and the Slovenian clericals, and the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian Tito's Communists, and the Albanians, the Turks, the Hungar-

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20 Dobroslav Jevđević, "Monarhija i Jugoslaveni", *Kanadski Srbobran*, Jan. 24, 1952, Vol. II, No. 9, p. 1.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

ians, and the Bulgarians, all together . . . by this procedure, the king would lose not only his crown but his position in the Serbian state unit would be also seriously impaired . . . "[22] Mr. Jevđević also points out, in the same article, that the Serbian monarchy is deeply imbedded in the Serbian national conscience, it is based on Serbian tradition, and the Serbs will never abandon it.

However, as already stated, the Croatians will never again tolerate the Serbian monarchy as an institution ruling their country. There is not a single political group among the Croatians, from the extreme right to the extreme left, who would accept the Serbian monarchy under any conditions. Therefore, the only possible solution of this problem, after the fall of Communism, is, again, a peaceful separation of Croatia and Serbia. In this manner, Serbia may remain a monarchy, while the Croatians will create their own democratic republic with a freely elected president as the head of their independent state.

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22 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Chapter V

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Croats belong to the Roman Catholic Church (about 79%), to Islam (about 18%), to Protestantism (about 2%), and to Judaism (about 1%). In addition to the Croats, all the Slovenes are members of the Roman Catholic Church. Practically, all the Serbians belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church. However, there are Orthodox people in Yugoslavia who are not Serbians (Macedonians, Montenegrins, some Albanians, Tsintsars, Vlachs, Greeks, Roumanians, and some Croats).[1] In 1921 the proportion of Catholics and Orthodox in Yugoslavia was 39.8% to 46.6%, in 1931 37.45% to 48.7% (according to official data, which may have been "edited" in favor of the Orthodox). The percentage differences between 1921 and 1931 clearly show the religious consequences of the existence of Yugoslavia.[2] The percentage of Moslems in 1931 was about 11%, and of other confessions about 3% (Protestants, Jews, etc.). These were in 1931 the proportions of the various confessions living in Yugoslavia.

As a matter of fact, we are principally interested here in the Serbian Orthodox Church which is, by her policy,

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1 To be sure, there are some Montenegrins who consider themselves to be Serbians. However, there has been a large group among the Montenegrins who claimed the existence of a separate Montenegrin nationality, and has opposed the inclusion of Montenegro into Serbia. The leaders of this group were Dr. Sekula Drljević, Sava M. Štedimlija, Dr. Krivokapić etc. Although all these men were assassinated by the Serbian Chetniks in 1945, because they were considered by them as great obstacles for the progress of Serbian imperialism, the spirit of an independent Montenegro has continued to live in the hearts of many patriotic Montenegrins.

2 Unitas, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

activities, and structure, very different not only from the non-Orthodox Christian Churches but also from the other Orthodox Churches as well. In fact, it is this difference which has often created disturbances and special problems, and provoked numberless conflicts with other nations and other religions.

The Serbian Orthodox Church has for centuries been a part of the Serbian national life, and has played a fatal role in the formation of Serbian national personality. Like any other Orthodox Church, the Serbian Church is today a national Church, but the tie between her and the national politics is much closer in Serbia than in any other country. The Church has completely identified herself with the Serbian state and the Serbian nation. Only the Serbians possess a term which clearly indicates the pronounced ultra-nationalist character of their Church. The term is "**svetosavlje,**" and has its origin in a Serbian national saint, **Sveti Sava,** who was the first archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church. The Serbian Orthodox Bishop for America and Canada, Most. Rev. Dionisije, explained in his Easter Message for 1953 the meaning of this term as follows: "The Serbian saint,**St. Sava,** left to the Serbian people the Orthodoxy and Serbdom. This is **svetosavlje.**" Or, in other words, svetosavlje is "a union of Orthodoxy and Serbdom," according to bishop Dionisije, who continues, "Svetosavlje cannot exist without love for Serbdom. In the **Svetosavac-man,** (i.e., the man who faithfully follows the principles of **svetosavlje**), the soul of all his activities is the love for the holy Orthodox faith and the Church, and the love for the Serbian people." [3]

The Serbian Church was established in 1219 by **Sava,** the son of the founder of the medieval Serbian state **Stevan Nemanja.** That Church very soon became Orthodox and oriented toward Byzantium. Serbian ruler Stevan Dušan

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3 Bishop Dionisije, "Easter Message," *Sloboda,* (Chicago, Ill., April 1, 1953).

(1331—1355) issued a Code in which he prohibited any other religion in his empire except the Orthodox religion, and, in 1346, he founded a Serbian Patriarchate at Peć which slowly disintegrated, after 1389, when the independent Serbian state fell. From that time on, the original Serbian Orthodox Church remained, for a long time, under the influence of the Ottoman Turks (first under the Patriarch of Peć, and later under the Patriarch of Constantinople). In 1557 the Turks reestablished the Patriarchate of Peć, dissolving it again for political reasons in 1766. However, already in the time of Tsar Stevan Dušan, who regarded his empire as a successor to the Byzantine empire, the Serbian Church adopted as her leading principle the old Byzantine idea: One state, one head of the Church and State, one religion.[4] The consequence of this principle was that the Serbian Church attempted on many occasions to swallow up the churches of the adjacent Orthodox countries, which has, e.g., produced a bitter enmity between Orthodox Bulgaria and Orthodox Serbia. This tendency continued unimpaired during the Turkish rule when the Serbian Church was subservient to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but during that time her policy was mainly oriented against the Catholics, and was as such directly or indirectly supported by the Ottoman rulers.[5] It was instrumental in effecting many forcible conversions of Catholics to Orthodoxy.

Political events during many centuries contributed to the disintegration of a unified Orthodox Church in the Balkans. Thus, in 1918, when a new Yugoslav state was imposed upon the peoples of Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, etc,. there were many independent Orthodox Churches existing in that territory. However, those Churches did not have a national name, since they included Orthodox believers of various nationalities, (Serbians, Montenegrins, Greeks,

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4 Suedland, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
5 Murvar, *op. cit.*, p. 162. ff.

Vlachs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Macedonians, etc.). Nonetheless, a unified Serbian Orthodox Church was established in 1920. In a pro-Serbian and pro-Tito article published in the symposium "Yugoslavia," a Czech writer, Dr. Matthew Spinka elaborates on this subject: "On June 30, 1920, the unification of the entire church was proclaimed in the patriarchal palace at Karlovac in the presence of the heir to the throne, Prince Alexander, the governmental representatives, all the hierarchs and some émigré Russian high clergy, administrators of the eparchies, rectors of theological schools, and monastic dignitaries." [6] But Mr. Spinka evidently forgot to explain the real significance of that forced "unification." Namely, the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church was extended to all the non-Serbian territories of that artificially created state, dominated by the Serbians. The new church officially adopted the Serbian tricolor, the Serbian letters and the Serbian language.[7] The Orthodox non-Serbian writer, Mr. Sava M. Štedimlija, relates about the situation of that time: "Thus, every Orthodox on the territory of Yugoslavia was declared a Serbian without any consideration if he really was one or not. The state administration, and the Serbian Orthodox Church, made Serbs of all the Orthodox Croatians, Ukrainians, Roumanians, Albanians, Macedonians, Greeks, and the

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6 *Matthew Spinka (Prague), "Modern Ecclesiastical Development," Yugoslavia, op. cit., p. 245.*

7 *Mr. P. D. Ostović (op. cit., p. 132. ff.) writes: "The colors of the Serbian Church are the Serbian national colors. The wisdom of the rulers in Belgrade is illustrated by the fact that they promulgated a law prohibiting the display of the national colors of the various Yugoslav peoples . . . An exception was made for the Churches which could freely display their colors. Since the other Churches do not use national colors, it turned out in practice that only the Serbian Church could freely display her colors, whereas the Croats and others were jailed if found in possession of their particular flag . . . Not until the gendarmes fired upon a peaceful Catholic procession and killed a few people, because there was a small old votive Croatian flag embroidered on a sacred image, did the government tacitly [illegible] Croatian flags to be displayed."*

Montenegrins, without their consent. When during the dictatorship of King Alexander (1929) the Croatian name and insignia were prohibited, the Serbian Orthodox Church was still allowed to call herself Serbian, and to use the Serbian flag as her official emblem. The Serbian Church was given the mission to serbianize all non-Serbian nationalities in Yugoslavia; therefore, it received the greatest privileges from the state and became a political instrument of a Greater Serbian propaganda."[8] In short, the Serbian Church was given the task to organize a cold genocide of various nationalities on an immense scale, but Mr. Matthew Spinka does not deem it necessary to mention this fact at all. However, this expert on church history, in his article about the modern ecclesiastical development in Yugoslavia, did not forget to smear perfidiously Cardinal Stepinac and the Catholic Church in Croatia.[9]

An Orthodox himself, Mr. Štedimlija was a patriotic Montenegrin, and an opponent of Greater Serbian hegemony, and, for this reason, as already mentioned, he was assassinated by the Serbian Chetniks in 1945. He had an outstanding reputation as a renowned expert on all Orthodox questions, which gives to his analysis of the Serbian Orthodox situation an added significance. According to Mr. Štedimlija, the Serbian Church is predominantly **a political church.** Its founder, **St. Sava,** took part in the political assassination of a rebel, Dobromir Strez, an enemy of King Stevan Nemanja. The saints of the Serbian church,

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8 Sava M. Stedimlija, *Auf dem Balkan* (Zagreb: Putovi, 1943), p. 95.

9 In addition to his anti-Catholic bias, Mr. Spinka (*op. cit., p.* 259) tried to imply that Stepinac was guilty of "collaboration." However, he admits that "the procedure adopted by the court (which tried Stepinac) was not fair according to the democratic standards," and then he hypocritically adds: "That, however, does not prove that Stepinac or his fellow defendants were not guilty, either wholly or in part, of the charges." It is to be hoped, for the sake of professional standing of Mr. Spinka, that his article on Church developments in Yugoslavia, is not a true indication of his competence as an expert on Church history.

aside from St. Sava, are nine Serbian rulers of the Middle Ages. Most of them were blood-stained rulers who, for personal reasons, participated in the killings of their fathers, relatives, sons, etc. **Miloš Obilić**, a Serbian leader, who in 1389 assassinated the Ottoman Sultan, Murat, has not officially been declared a saint, but his picture (**Ikon**) can be found in the Serbian monasteries alongside the pictures of other saints. In this way, the Serbian Church has educated her people in the worship of assassins, patricides, and conquerors. Many of their priests were themselves warriors, conspirators, assassins, rebels, and political leaders, instead of being theologians, pastors and preachers of Christ's teachings. When, in 1844, the Serbian minister Garašanin developed a plan for the re-establishment of Dušan's medieval empire, the Serbian Church became the chief instrument in the pursuit of his imperialistic scheme. In the second half of the 19th century, the Serbian Church, the Russian Panslavism, and the Serbian imperialists worked hand in hand to achieve the conquest of the whole Balkans. Following in the footsteps of her saints, the Serbian Orthodox Church has implanted into her members the same aggressive spirit. Assassinations were organized, rulers were killed, conspiracies were instigated, secret organizations were formed, and struggles and wars against non-Serbian Orthodox peoples were carried on, particularly against the Bulgarians, Macedonians, and Montenegrins. The Serbian priests took active part in the Balkan wars against their Orthodox neighbors.[10]

In Royal Yugoslavia, the Serbian Church considered the creation of that state as a resurrection of Tsar Dusan's kingdom, and intensified her policy of Serbian expansion and denationalization of all non-Serbians. An impartial observer of the whole situation, Mr. Josef Korbel, affirms that the Serbian Orthodox Church is "intolerant and full

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10 Štedimlija, *op. cit.*, p. 98. ff.

of mistrust towards the Catholics." [11] Here, we may also quote the description of the pre-war religious situation in Yugoslavia by a great friend of the Serbian people who would, against all odds, prefer to see Yugoslavia survive, Mr. P. D. Ostović. He writes: "The Serbians are not great church-goers nor are they very devout. The Church is a part of their national life, like the village fair . . . The Serbian Orthodox Church, being identified with the Serbian state and Serbian people, is intolerant of other creeds and peoples in 'her' state, and we know that Yugoslavia was considered only as an enlarged Serbia. . . . The Serbian Orthodox Church is not legally but virtually a state Church. In relation to other Churches, it claimed a monopoly of patriotism . . . The (old Yugoslav) state being dominated by the Serbians, the authorities favored the Orthodox against the Catholic element . . . Membership in the Orthodox Church was in a way a certificate of loyalty and patriotism. Considerable numbers of Catholics and others renounced their Church and became Serbian Orthodox to win favor. It is estimated that about 200,000 Catholics were converted to Serbian Orthodoxy during the twenty-three years of the first Yugoslavia . . . Serbian churches were built all over the country at the expense of the state, while Catholic churches were decaying for lack of funds. Serbian churches were built even in places where Orthodox congregations were negligibly small, as in Celje, Maribor, and Sušak, which are almost hundred per cent Catholic." [12]

To amplify this description, and to portray briefly the Catholic situation during the same period, let us quote from another source, from the article "The Paradox of Yugoslavia and the idea of Unitas," which summarized the Catholic experiences in Yugoslavia as follows: "Instead of the religious equality, in praxis it occured that this

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11 Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
12 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 131—132.

equality was constantly in a greater part compromised, and the rights of Catholics were systematically and constantly violated. The usual protests of the Catholic bishops, during their conferences, give evidence of the relationships of the Yugoslav state authorities with the Catholic Church. The law projects from the year 1932, on account of which the Jesuits had to be relegated to the island of Vis or expelled from the country, testify the same. The fact that the Catholic Bishops, in their pastoral letter, were forced to rise against the secular and anti-religious spirit practiced in the organization "**Jugoslavenski Sokol,**" is further evidence of this. . . . A glance in the book of the French representatives Mr. Ernest Pezet and Mr. Henry Simondet [13] gives us a clear picture of this situation, and we shall give here some characteristic data: For a long time it was forbidden for the pupils of high schools, under pain of expulsion from the school, to be a member of the Marian Congregation (Sodality). The Catholic schools were persecuted, and it was forbidden to establish new confessional schools. The Catholic press was systematically persecuted. In pure Catholic regions, up to the western frontier of the state, monumental Orthodox churches arose with the state support, as for example in Maribor, Celje, Ljubljana, Sušak, Vis; and others were in project for Split, Pelješac, etc., as evident symbols of the Serbian domination, also as a sign of Orthodoxy. The Yugoslav regime favored and supported (in Croatia) the so-called "Old Catholic Church" in order to provoke a greater misunderstanding between the Catholics, and to augment the number of apostates from the Catholic Church. The state especially favored mixed marriages, and till 1940 there were more than 30,000 such cases. Young Catholic teachers were sent into pure Ortho-

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13 Ernest Pezet, député membré de la Commission des affaires étrangeres, et Henry Simondet, agrégé de l'Université, professeur à l'Ecole des sciences politiques, *La Yugoslavie en péril?* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1938.).

dox regions, and Orthodox officers (and soldiers) into Catholic regions. Owing to a confidential order they were forbidden to get married in Catholic churches. The situation in the Yugoslav army might be characterized with this fact: among 116 generals only one was a Catholic." [14]

However, the chauvinistic feelings of the Serbian Orthodox Church reached their peak when, in 1935, a Concordat was negotiated between the Holy See and Yugoslavia which would have given legal equality to the Catholics. On this subject, the above mentioned article continues: "It is known that a Concordat between the Holy See and Yugoslavia was concluded on July 25th, 1935. It could not be ratified in the Belgrade Parliament because of the furious opposition of the Serbian Orthodox Church. She threatened with excommunication those representatives who dared to vote for the Concordat. The public saw that the Serbian Orthodox Church did not want to recognize the religious equality of Catholic and Orthodox believers, even not in theory . . . the Concordat was put aside and forgotten. Meanwhile, this fact is not so important as the atmosphere of religious hatred and national chauvinism that appeared on the Serbian side at that time. It is characteristic that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (otherwise an exclusive formation of the Serbian political life) collaborated in this action of intolerance and chauvinism, and when the Serbian Patriarch died, they gave us as an explanation of his death that Rome had caused him to be poisoned. . . . In order to silence the incited Serbian masses, the government gave to the Serbian Orthodox Church four billion dinars as a reparation for the damages occasioned during the 500 years of Turkish rule in Serbia. Naturally, the government forgot to make the same magnanimous and expensive gestures to other religious communities . . ." [15]

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14 "The Paradox of Yugoslavia and the Idea of Unitas," *Unitas,* (Rome: No. 2, 1946).

15 Unitas, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

The anti-Catholic and anti-Moslem attitude of the Serbian Church was only intensified during the Second World War. Many Orthodox priests allied themselves with the Communists in order to fight with them against the Croats, Catholics and Moslems. These priests held a special pro-Communist Church congress in 1942, and issued a proclamation appealing to the Serbian people to join "the (Communist) Army of Liberation." In fact, the Communist orientation of some of the members of the Serbian Church was nothing new. A prominent Serbian priest, the Director of a school for Orthodox priests in Banja Luka before the First World War, Rev. Vasa Pelagić, was a Socialist who eventually became an atheist and a "saint" of the Serbian Communist movement. His example was followed by some Serbian priests who joined the Communist movement in Serbia.[16] Other Orthodox priests became leaders of notorious Chetnik gangs (Đuić), or their members, taking part in mass killings of the Croatian civilian population.

The present situation of the Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia has been well described in an article by Mr. Alfred Reinert, the foreign correspondent of a Vienna newspaper.[17] He emphasizes the fact that the national songs of Croatia and Slovenia are predominantly Christian in character, while the Serbian songs are still pre-Christian and pagan. Another important fact about the Serbian Church is found in her relation to the state. Mr. Reinert quotes the opinion of Dr. George Stadtmueller, an expert on Balkan questions, that there was never a fight between Church and State in the Byzantine-Slavic East, because there the Church was always a part of the State, and subservient to the State. The Church was always a State Church, becoming in the 19th century an intensely nationalistic Church. However, this close link between the Church and the State has made

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16 Stedimlija, *op. cit.*, p. 102. ff.
17 *Wiener Kurier* (Wien: March 9, 1953)

it possible for the Serbian Church, during 500 years of Turkish rule, to maintain Serbian national spirit alive. Therefore, a believer of the Serbian Church sees in his priest more the symbol of a national than of a religious idea, and in general he appreciates more a hero than a saint. Against this background one can well understand the difference in the attitude of the Catholic and the Orthodox Church in Tito's Yugoslavia. There is no denying the fact that there are certainly many enemies of Communism in the ranks of the Serbian Church, and that some Orthodox churchmen have been persecuted. In spite of that, Tito and Orthodoxy have made peace, perhaps a temporary compromise, but on many occasions, the Serbian Patriarch **Vikentije Prodanov** has supported the Communist regime in its struggle against the Catholic Church and the Moslems. Thus, the enmity toward Catholicism and Islamism, and the economic concessions to the Orthodox priests on the part of the government, have contributed to that compromise by which the Serbian Church has again acquired a privileged position as a state and national church, subservient to state authority. In return for this, the Serbian Church as a whole has, with a few exceptions, supported the Communist regime of Marshal Tito. The leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church evidently feel that his government has faithfully served the cause of a Greater Serbia, and also know that the process of serbianizing non-Serbians has been making good progress in Yugoslavia.[18] There are even some Serbian anti-Com-

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8 Two articles have recently been published in the Croatian press, which discuss the problem of Serbian chauvinism in Tito's Yugoslavia. In the first of them (Stjepan Gaži, "Zaista su sijači mržnje", *Hrvatski Glas*, Winnipeg, Man., Dec. 14, 1953), Mr. Gaži analyzes the results of the last "election" in Yugoslavia and shows that Serbians have been nominated as deputies in many counties with a predominant Croatian majority, all this in the name of "brotherhood and unity." He relates that the Serbian minority in Croatia supports the Communist regime in order to secure Serbian hegemony over the Croats. In the second article (Ilija Jukić, "Kriza Titova režima," *Hrvatski Glas*, Dec. 25, 1953), Mr. Jukić depicts the discontent which exists in Croatia because of the

munist exiles who praise the Tito government for its pro-Serbian policy. For instance, Mr. Adam Pribićević, an exiled Serbian leader, expressed recently his great admiration for some acts of the Communists. He said that the Communists have returned to the Orthodox faith and Serbian nationality 240,000 Serbs, and he also praised them for building a monument to commemorate the Kossovo martyrs. [19]

On the other hand, it must also be mentioned that not all of the aspirations of the Serbian Orthodox leaders have been satisfied, and that an intense struggle is in progress between the Serbian Church and the Orthodox Macedonians who resent any form of Serbian domination. [20] Mr. Matthew Spinka undoubtedly dislikes the idea of an autonomous Macedonian Church when he writes: "As early as March, 1945, some Macedonian clergy had petitioned the Serbian patriarchate for an independent ecclesiastical status. It is understandable that such a request would be refused. Thereupon the group declared the independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, and elected Father Jovan Jelev, a seventy-one-year-old priest who was friendly to Tito, as the temporary head of the new organization. A General Council was called, which elected him patriarch of the restored ancient Bulgarian partriarchate of Ohrid. The new church consists of the metropolitanates of Ohrid,

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Serbian predominance in the Communist Croat "government." Even the Croatian Communists, according to the information possessed by Mr. Jukić, are dissatisfied with the privileged position of Serbian Communists in Croatia. He says that the belief in a continuous existence of Yugoslavia has been shattered even among those people who still believed in it.

19 Editorial by Adam Pribićević in *Glas kanadskih Srba,* (Windsor, Ont., Canada: Nov. 26, 1953).

20 Cf. an article by Mr. Azis Čengić, "Nekoliko riječi na temu knjige dr. Balića," *Američki Hrvatski Glasnik* (Chicago: April 15, 1953), and the book by Dr. Ewald Amende, *Die Nationalitaeten in den Staaten Europas* (Wien-Leipzig: 1931), p. 374., in which he states: "In the part of Macedonia which came under Serbia there were in 1912, during the Turkish rule, 640 Macedonian

Bitolj, Strumica, and Skoplje." [21] Mr. Ostović estimates that since the emancipation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, the number of Serbian Orthodox in Yugoslavia will be about 40 per cent. [22] The Serbian Church, because of her intense chauvinism, cannot tolerate Macedonian emancipation in any form, so her struggle to subdue the Macedonians continues openly and secretly.

Incidentally, even some Serbian newspapers in exile occasionally criticize the present attitude of the Serbian Orthodox Church toward Communism, and also, some of them condemn her extremely low moral and ethical standards. "The Political Bulletin of the Serbian Newspaper" (Rome), published by the Serbian Chetnik leader Mr. Dobroslav Jevđević, emphasizes particularly the following points: "We are sorry to discuss again the difficult and detrimental conditions existing in the Serbian Church. The Church is in an anarchical condition. The only possibility to improve the situation is to return her to the recognition of the hierarchy established by Christ. This cannot be achieved, however, as long as the head of the Church is such a puny opportunist as the present Patriarch Vikentije, who is more an exponent of Tito's policy than of the Christian Church of St. Sava. . . . In Great Britain, the Patriarch promotes priest Miloje, because he is ready for egotistic reasons to conduct Church policy in a pro-Tito spirit." [23] Mr. Jevđević called the present Patriarch a "puny opportunist." But how "puny" he really is became clearly evident

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schools with 1013 teachers and about 37,000 pupils. Under the Serbian rule, until World War II, there was not a single Macedonian school . . . In 1912, there were in the same Macedonian territory 761 Macedonian Orthodox churches with 6 bishops and 833 priests. *In Yugoslavia, there were none.* All churches have been made Serbian, some of the teachers and priests were killed, others expelled or dismissed. The Serbian priests came to take over the Macedonian churches."

21 Spinka, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

22 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

23 Politički Bulletin Srpskih Novina, (Rome: Sept., 1952).

when, in October, 1952, he issued a public statement supporting the Communist government in its persecution of the Catholic Church.[24] In that statement, he denounced the Catholic bishops because of their "inimical actions against our country," and their "violation of the Constitution and our laws." Also, he frankly declared: "The relation between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the state is characterized by a gradual and steady improvement . . . This proves that the relation between the Church and the State is normal, and that all rumors about religious persecution are completely unfounded. . . ."[25] There are, of course, some Serbians who are ashamed of the position taken by the official Serbian Church. A noted Serbian professor, Mr. Slobodan Jovanović (now in London), wrote a letter to Patriarch Prodanov objecting to his servile statements and to his support of the Communist cause. However, his letter did not change the situation in the slightest. On the contrary, the new Communist law on religion which in fact legalizes religious persecution was greeted by Mr. Vikentije with the following statement: "The new law has completely established freedom of religion and freedom of church activity!" Thus, while the Catholic Church and the Islamic Religious Community are bravely fighting for their freedom, for ethical principles and for God, the leaders of the Serbian Church eagerly and meekly collaborate with Communism and support its antireligious aims.

As already explained, the Serbian Church is extremely intolerant toward everybody who does not belong to her. In addition to Catholics, the Moslems are the principal sufferers. Mr. Ostović describes their situation as follows: "We might add that the Serbians, accustomed to the identification of the Church with the state, are imbued with a strong hostility not only toward all other creeds, but par-

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24 *Danica*, Chicago, Nov. 5, 1952.
25 *Danica*, Chicago, Nov. 5, 1952.

ticularly toward the Moslems. All Moslems were driven out of Serbia when the country was liberated from the Turks. Compare this with the tolerance of the Moslems, under whose rule Christianity not only survived but was numerically predominant in the Balkans generally and in Serbia in particular. The Serbian animosity toward the "Turks," as the Moslems are generally called, took the form of persecutions which culminated in attempts at extermination during World War II when plans were laid by Draža Mihajlović for the final elimination of the Moslems after the war." [26] From the "Message of the Croatian Moslems to their Religious Brethren in the World" we quote:

"The Serbian Orthodox religion was the only favored religion in Yugoslavia. The tendency was to wipe out every other religion, especially Islamism. It is easy to understand this attitude when we bear in mind the fate of the Turks and Albanian Moslems in pre-war Serbia. According to the Turkish historian Chelebi there were in Belgrade, capital of Serbia, during the Turkish rule no less than 217 mosques. One by one, these mosques were destroyed by the Serbs. Only one of them, which did not resemble a house of prayer was spared. To ridicule this tragedy of the Moslems, a Serbian night club in Belgrade (Batal-Džamija) was named after this last mosque. This is only one out of many examples. Cases of forcible conversion to the Serbian Orthodox Church were a daily occurrence. In this connection, we mention the fate of the village Malce, near Niš in Serbia. Its inhabitants were forced overnight to convert to the Serbo-Orthodox religion. The means used in carrying out these conversions were threats, discharge from state employment and threats backed by punishment." [27]

Since the Serbian Church has served as a tool of Serbian national expansion, of denationalization and even annihila-

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26 Ostović, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
27 "A Message," *op. cit.*, p. 9.

tion of the non-Serbs, particularly of Catholic and Moslem Croatians, a separation of Croatia and Serbia is absolutely necessary in order to arrest such nefarious activities. If some Orthodox people remain in Croatia, they can freely establish their own Church, which according to the cannons of the Orthodox Church, can be only **an independent Church**, never a Pan-Serbian organization, or even less, a fifth column of Serbian political expansion. Thus, it would be a democratic and just solution to create a free Croatian Orthodox Church for all the Orthodox people in Croatia, after a peaceful separation of Croatia and Serbia. That Church should include the whole Orthodox minority in Croatia, and should be a purely religious organization, and not a means for any form of denationalization. This is the opinion of an Orthodox Montenegrin, who has clearly recognized the fact that a **Serbian** Orthodox Church can never exist in a democratic order of things in a non-Serbian neighbor state, since it is the weapon of an evil imperialism, used to destroy the national personality and the very existence of the non-Serbian peoples." [28]

The first step in a permanent plan of the Serbian Church for the transformation of Catholic Croats into Orthodox Serbians, were the creation of a "national" Catholic Church in Croatia, which would gradually become Orthodox. This aim, which is one of the reasons behind the present religious policy of the Yugoslav Communist government and the persecution of Cardinal Stepinac, was formulated long ago by some Serbian politicians. For instance, Dr. J. Ž. Milosavljević, a Serbian ultranationalist, regrets that the Catholic

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28 S. M. Štedimlija, *Verschwoerungen gegen den Frieden,* (Zagreb: Putovi, 1943), p. 50. — An independent Croatian Orthodox Church was established in Croatia in 1942, and was recognized as such by some other Orthodox churches, particularly the Roumanian Orthodox church. On this occasion, a delegate of the Roumanian Church came to Zagreb to consecrate and invest the head of the Croatian Orthodox Church, Metropolit Germogen. The Croatian Orthodox Church was abolished, however, by the Serbian Communists in 1945.

Church in the first Yugoslavia was not a "national church" like the Orthodox Church, and that her head was "outside the territory of our state." Mr. Milosavljević continues: "It should be a sacred duty for all the Serbians to re-establish the **Serbian** National Catholic Church which would instruct her parishioners that the national state is the same symbol as the Church, and that without the national church there is no national state. . . . The Serbians do not desire a universal Catholicism. . . . Universal Catholicism has been used to kill national spirit." [29] In accordance with this opinion, Mr. Milosavljević insists on the establishment of a Serbian "Catholic" theological school that would educate Serbian "Catholic" priests in a Serbian spirit.

The Serbian attempts of a forcible or gradual conversion of Catholics and Moslems to Orthodoxy, conducted during the existence of a unified Yugoslav state, have been partly successful in the past, but only for one reason. The Yugoslav, in fact a Greater Serbian, state, has given the Orthodox Church the necessary background, so the Catholics lost about 200,000 of their members. Unfortunately, during the Second World War some overzealous Croats tried to retaliate by the same policy of religious conversions against the Serbs, failed however, and abandoned it very soon. The Croatian authorities recognized the right of the Orthodox people to organize their own independent Church in the Croatian state. [30] However, when Tito's Serbian Communists occupied Croatia, in 1945, the Croatian Orthodox Church was arbitrarily dissolved and its head, Metropolit Germogen, was savagely tortured and finally executed. Under the Communists, the Orthodox Church in Croatia has again become a tool of Greater Serbian pro-

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29 Milosavljević, *op. cit.*, p. 74. ff.

30 Ante Pavelić, *Istina o tobožnjem prekrštavanju pravoslavnih* (B. Aires: Hrvatska Misao, 1953), p. 25. — This booklet is a defense of *Pavelić's religious policy during the Second World War.*

paganda and denationalization of the non-Serbian Orthodox population.

Today, as already explained, the Serbian Church has allied herself with the Communist government of Tito's Yugoslavia in order to continue her old religious and ultra-nationalistic policy of making Orthodox converts and Serbs out of non-Serbs. By her inherent tendency to convert to Orthodoxy, and consequently to assimilate nationally, the members of all other faiths, the Serbian Church will continue to provoke permanent religious and national conflicts in any Yugoslavia. It will be necessary, in the interest of peace in that part of Europe, to separate the Western, Croatian and Slovenian parts of Yugoslavia from the Eastern, Serbian parts, and to limit the activity of the Serbian Church to Serbia as it is expressed in the name of the **Serbian** Orthodox Church. It would also be better for all concerned, if the Serbian Church restricted her activity to the field of religion and morals, and ceased to suport the imperialistic plans of the Serbian political leaders, and their policy of hatred and persecution. Although such a development may be very improbable, because of the strong ultra-nationalistic, anti-Catholic, anti-Moslem, and anti-Macedonian feelings of the Serbian Church hierarchy, it would immensely contribute to the increased political and cultural stability in Southeastern Europe and thus bring great benefits to the Serbian people themselves. The Serbian leaders should never forget that Catholicism and Islamism are two universal religions, which they shall never be able to exterminate. Thus, for the sake of peace and order, Croatia and Serbia have to be separated, and not united in a spurious state whose existence has only increased the amount of national intolerance and hatred between its component parts.

CONCLUSION

By now, it has become completely clear, as emphasized in a recent documentary work, that "Serb and Croat are not the same people, and have operated within a spiritual and emotional framework considerably different one from the other. The cleavage between the two nationalities is clear-cut. From the earliest record of the presence of the South Slavs in their present domicile, numerous factors tend to separate Serb from Croat." [1] Undoubtedly, Yugoslavia has been a monstrosity of history, responsible for horrible sufferings of her peoples, and instrumental in the increase of mutual intolerance and hatred.[2] In the past, some far-sighted persons issued occasional warnings, predicting the

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1 Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

2 Thus it is very strange when Mr. Griffith Taylor in his article "The Geographical Scene" (symposium *Yugoslavia*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.) begins his analysis with the following sentence: "The Yugoslav nation, like most European nations, is primarily a creation of its environment". This sentence contains a double nonsense. First, there is no *Yugoslav* nation. And secondly, geographical determinism, as implied in that sentence, is an obsolete oversimplification which, applied to Yugoslavia, does not explain anything. In our opinion, geographical determinism is not less misleading than is racial determinism. As to the nonexistence of a Yugoslav nation, let us quote a Macedonian opinion to show that all the nations enslaved in Yugoslavia agree on this point. The outstanding Macedonian leader, Mr. Ivan Mihajloff, writes: "A Yugoslav nation does not exist, there is no Yugoslav tradition, and one cannot speak of a Yugoslav language. Likewise, there is not, for example, a Westernslav nation, language, and tradition, but there are Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, etc. with their clearly defined history. The southern Slavic people have their own separate historical development and distinct national consciousness. The Yugoslav problem between the two World Wars was nothing more than a struggle of the majority of the Yugoslavian nations against the efforts of the Serbians to subordinate and gradually assimilate them" (Mihajloff, *op. cit.*, p. 79). It is beyond our comprehension that, knowing all this, one could speak of a Yugoslav nation.

disastrous consequences of the existence of Yugoslavia. However, the European statesmen, in their desire to preserve the status quo at any price, and to prevent all reasonable changes, did not respond to such warnings at all. Let us quote only one typical statement written by Mr. Konrad Bercovici in the year 1932, "Yugoslavia of the present is a territory held together only by arbitrary political will, and not by inner necessity or inner relations. The antipathy shown by the supposed allies toward one another, just as strong today as it has been before they became perforce allies, leaves the whole affair in doubt. (The peoples of Yugoslavia) . . . are hating one another and waiting for the propitious moment to spring at one another's throat. What ignorance of history has welded together, the wisdom of the devil will tear asunder. No inner military caste can keep these people together, no dictator can order them to be friendly to one another, to love one another; neither one nor the other possesses the spiritual cement that would hold them together." [3] This warning, like many other warnings, was ignored, but it is as true today as it was in 1932, and even truer after those horrible experiences of the period between 1941 and 1954.

Mr. Adam B. Ulam sees in the Yugoslav state "a nineteenth century dream which has fitted rather uneasily into the realities of twentieth century politics . . ." [4] It is true that there were some outstanding Croats who once believed in that dream. For instance, the noted Croatian painter Mr. Joza Kljaković has always been a great friend and admirer of the Serbian people. He lived in Serbia before the First World War, and he took part, as an intimate friend of many outstanding Serbians, in the creation of the first Yugoslavia which he, at that time, considered as an ideal solution

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3 Bercovici, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

4 Adam B. Ulam, *Titoism and the Cominform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 6—7.

of national problems. Disgusted with Serbian hegemony and oppression of the Croatian people between the two World Wars, he nevertheless continued to work for a Croatian-Serb understanding. Now, living in Argentina as a political refugee, he has published a very interesting book (in Croatian).[5] In that book Mr. Kljaković relates, among other things, his experiences with the Serbians, and in the Epilogue he makes certain conclusions in regard to the possible continuation of a common Croatian-Serbian state (Yugoslavia) after the defeat of Communism. This liberal and humanitarian artist and a life-long friend of the Serbian people has come to the following conclusion: "Twenty-two years in an unitary state with the Serbians has forever separated the Croatians from the Serbians. . . . Croatia and Serbia lived side by side for centuries, and the Serbs lived among the Croatians for three hundred years after fleeing to us from the Turks. They lived together without hatred and without mutual struggle. However, after twenty years of a common state and joint living, such hatred has developed between us and such cruelty has been displayed in mutual annihilation as the world has never known. This is further proof that we cannot be together, that we cannot live in a single state. . . . Croatia and Serbia cannot live in the same structure. After more than thirty years of joint living, not only experiences and facts, but also the perspectives of the future, have completely separated one from the other. Therefore, we Croatians desire to establish our own state, our Republic of Croatia. She could, by the will of the people, enter into any political structure of the West which corresponds to her interests and to the necessities of our time."[6]

When such ideas about an absolute impossibility of the peaceful coexistence of Croatia and Serbia in a common Yu-

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5 Joza Kljaković, *U suvremenom kaosu* (Buenos Aires: 1952)
6 *Ibid.*, p. 309. ff.

goslav state are expressed by a life-long adherent of Yugoslav "unity," there must be very serious reasons for it. We have tried to explain some of them in this analysis. However, Mr. Kljaković, today a follower of the democratic Croatian Peasant Party of Dr. Maček, expressed only what an overwhelming majority of all the Croatians believe.

Similar ideas have been uttered on many occasions by the members of various Croatian political factions. For example, Dr. Branimir Jelić, a leading member of the Croatian National Committee in Europe (Munich), who lived in England during World War II, declares in his Memorandum sent on Jan. 25, 1952, to the President of the 6th Assembly of the United Nations, held in Paris, "The Croats and the Serbs are too different to be able to live together and to harmonize. Everybody who took the trouble of studying these two nations came to the same conclusion. Ethnically, these two nations have nothing in common; their religion, their culture, and traditions are entirely different. Why should these two nations, being so entirely different, be forced to live under one rule . . . ? The Croatian National Committee, instead of assailing and exposing misdeeds done to the Croats, expresses the Croat opinion by stating that the bad past be forgotten and that the only solution of the national questions is the peaceful separation of Croatia and Serbia. The Croats wish fervently, from the bottom of their hearts, to forget the last 30 years and to secure freedom, liberty, and democracy for their own state of Croatia, as well as for that of Serbia, and that these two nations should live separately, leaving each other in peace and trying to enter into good neighborly relations."[7] Consequently, "the Croatian nation will, under no condition, ever be willing to be under Serbian rule, or the same rule with the Serbs . . . all that the Croats wish and demand is to be free

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7 Dr. Branimir Jelić, "The Croatian Memorandum to the United Nations," *Danica*, Chicago, Feb. 13, 1952, p. 4.

in their own national state as any other nation, and together again with the great European family of national states in a European Union." [8]

Furthermore, let us quote Dr. Juraj Krnjević, Secretary-General of the Croatian Peasant Party, which obtained a decisive majority in all free elections in Croatia in the last 30 years. Dr. Krnjević has expressed this opinion on many occasions. For instance, at a meeting in Cleveland on Sept. 5, 1952, he declared frankly: "All of us, Croatians, are for a Croatian state. . . . Even if it should happen that some great powers would try to prevent the creation of a Croatian state, and even if the whole world would like to impose Belgrade upon us, we all, the whole Croatian nation, will fight with all our power for a Croatian state." [9] And at a meeting at Oxford (England), Dr. Krnjević said on March 8, 1953: "We differ from the Serbs in religion, history and mentality. Our characters are very different, and it was a great error in the past, and it would even be a greater error in the future, to unite those two nations. . . ." [10]

The same ideas have been repeatedly expressed by the President of the Croatian Peasant Party, Dr. Vladko Maček. For instance, at a meeting of the International Peasant Union, held on August 8th, 1953, in Washington, D. C., in memory of the great Croatian democratic leader, Stjepan Radić, Dr. Maček is reported to have said the following: **"The Croatian Peasant Party is for the Croatian State on the whole ethnic territory of the Croatian Nation** . . . The methods Stjepan Radić used in his fight were always and entirely pacifistic. In spite of this, or maybe just because of this, he was mortally wounded in the Belgrade Parliament on June 20, 1928, fighting his battle for democracy and Croatian rights. His body is dead but not his spirit . . . It is this spirit and the ideas and teaching emanating from

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8 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
9 Quoted in *Danica*, Chicago, Sept. 17, 1952.
10 Quoted in *Hrvatski Glas*, Winnipeg, March 30, 1953.

it that help the Croatian people, at home and abroad, in these days of despair, to endure the horrors of the Tito's Communist regime, and to hope with determination that the program and ideals of Stjepan Radić will be finally fulfilled when, one day, our beloved country is free again of the Communist tyranny and admitted as an equal member into the Free European Community." [10a] The practical inference from all this is that today all Croatian political groups unanimously advocate a separation of Croatia from Serbia, i.e., the dissolution of that oppressor state known as Yugoslavia.

After such representative statements it is evident that any Yugoslavia could be maintained alive only by ruthless force, by imprisonment and terror, by lies and vilifications. We hope, however, that the free nations of the world are not willing to pay such a high price in order to keep alive a ghastly state which is profoundly detested by a great majority of its inhabitants. Therefore, the nations of the present-day Communist Yugoslavia should be allowed, after the defeat of Communism, to choose freely their own political institutions in accordance with the great principle of self-determination of nations. [11] The Croatians and the Serbians represent two antagonistic worlds which can coexist peacefully only if Croatia and Serbia are separated one from the other, and then gradually try to establish friendly neighborly relations as free and independent states. A third Yugoslavia, forcibly imposed upon the subjugated nations, would produce only more friction, oppression, terror and even wars. Hence, it is in the interest of a lasting

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10a *Hrvatski Glas*, Winnipeg, Feb. 22, 1954, p. 1.

11 In our opinion, an entirely free and democratic plebiscite in Yugoslavia would lead to the creation of the following independent states: Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and to the unification of Albanian territories (now in Yugoslavia) with a free Albania. This would be the only logical and just solution of the Yugoslav problem. The objections of some "experts" that the formation of small states is contrary to the modern trend,

European settlement to effect a peaceful separation of Croatia and Serbia, as the only solution which can secure permanent peace and order in that important part of the old world. Croatia and Serbia should enter the European Union as free, democratic, independent and equal nations.

It is our sincere opinion that a just and reasonable unification of Europe, as recommended in 1953 by Pope Pius XII in his 15th Christmas Eve address to a fear-ridden world, can only be achieved through the process of national self-determination and free international cooperation of independent nations. Therefore, an absolutely necessary prerequisite for a democratic unification is the liberation of subjugated European nations. Or as the Pope expressed it in another address, the solution lies in this that "states, remaining sovereign, **freely** unite into a juridicial community." [12] In such a free community, there is no place for a desire to subjugate other nations and to extend the range of one's own power, and there is no place for those states which deny to other nations the right to existence, the right to their own culture and the right to shape freely their own destiny. In short, in a free community of European nations there should be no room for such states which, like Yugoslavia, exist against the clearly expressed will of their inhabitants. The European Union, which is in the making, should be composed of free and independent states, and should never become an instrument to protect the imperialistic, totalitarian, or hegemonistic designs of any nation.

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are based on the desire of some imperialists to preserve their hegemony in the composite states. The existence of small states like Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Denmark, etc., proves the fallacy of their reasoning. The European Union should secure an equal protection for both, the small and the large states.

12 Pope Pius XII's address to the Union of Italian Catholic Jurists, *The Tablet*, Brooklyn, Dec. 19, 1953.

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THE STORY OF SERBIAN IMPERIALISM IN MAPS

1. Serbia in 1830.

This is a map of the Balkan Peninsula after the Peace of Adrianople, 1829, and the Congress of London, 1830. ***Serbia is still a tributary satellite of the Ottoman Empire.***

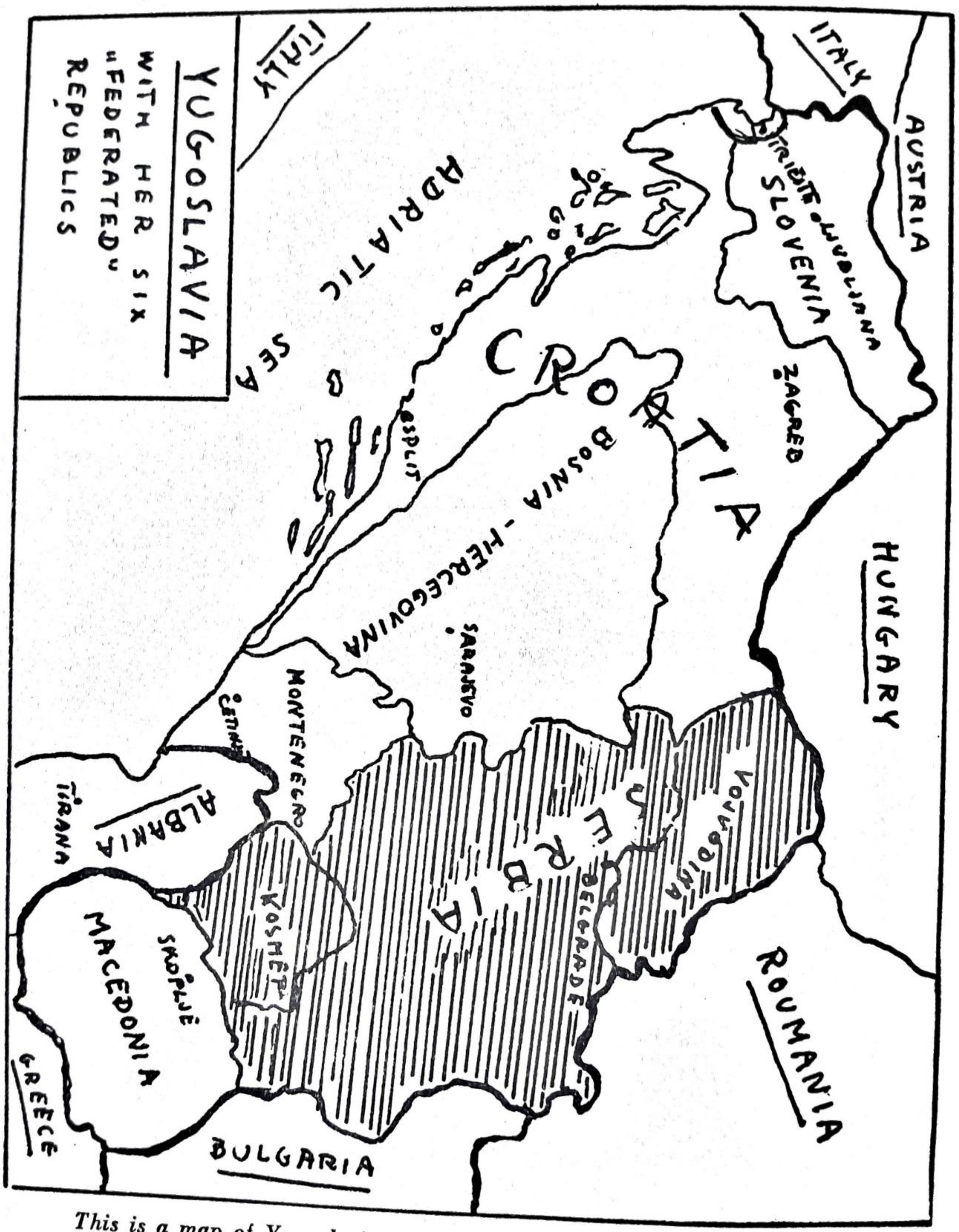
2. *Serbia in 1878.*

The Balkan Peninsula following the Congress of Berlin, 1878.

3. Serbia in 1913.

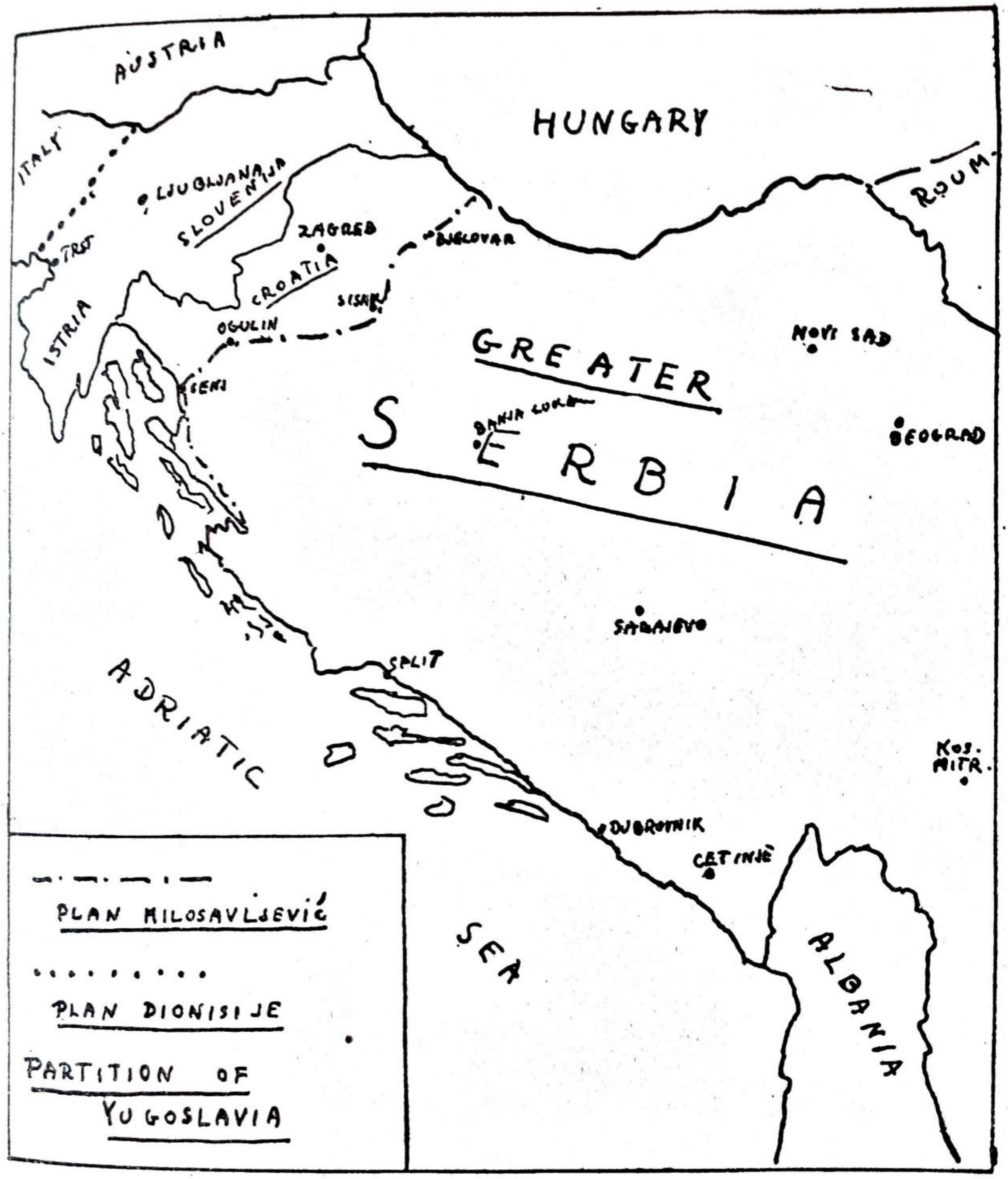
The Balkan States after the Balkan Wars and the Peace of Bucharest, 1913.

4. Serbia in 1954.



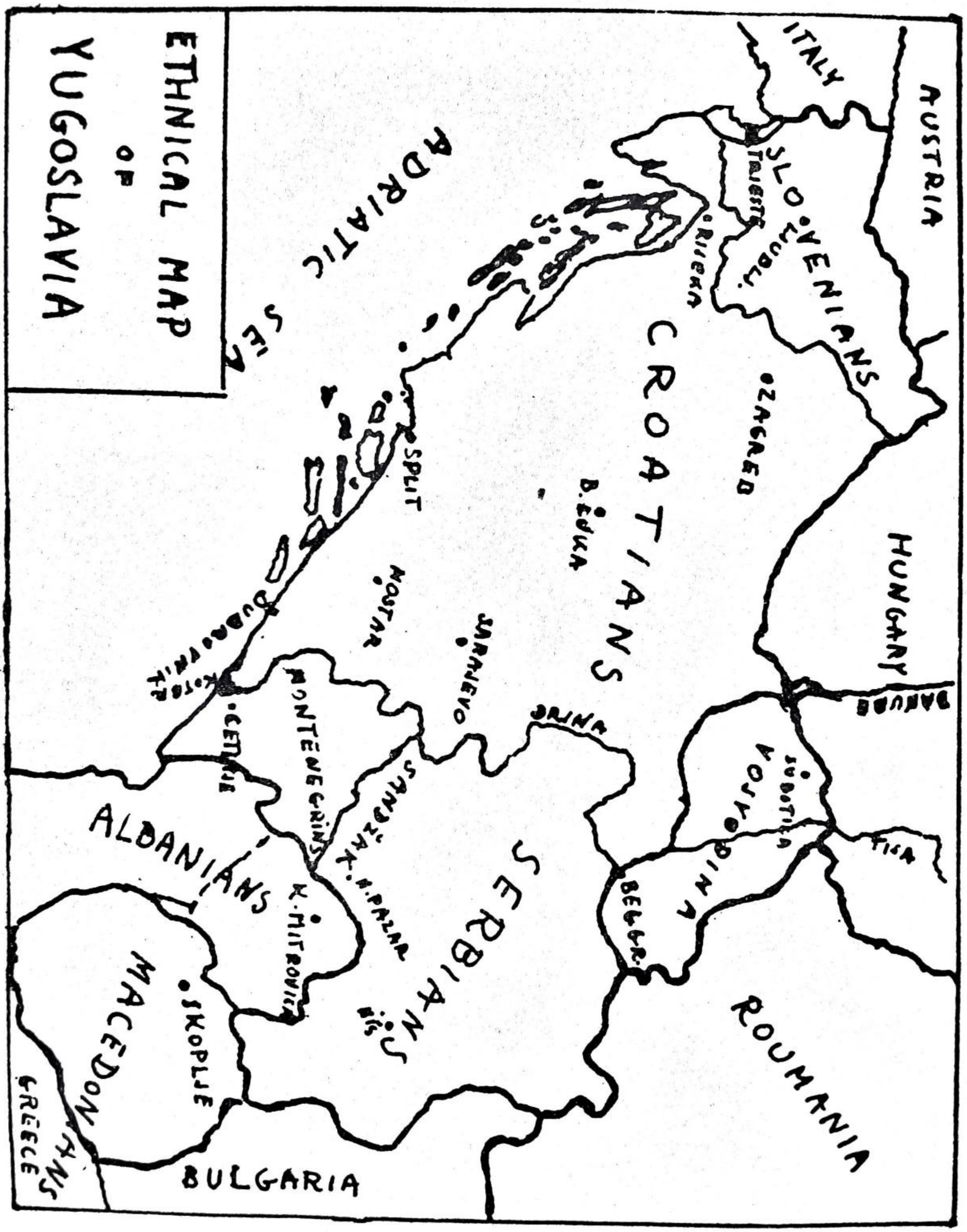
This is a map of Yugoslavia and her "federated" republics. Serbia includes two "autonomous" regions, Vojvodina and Kosmet, which are predominantly non-Serbian in character. They have, however, a sizeable Serbian minority.

5. *Plans of Serbian imperialists.*



Two plans for the creation of a Greater Serbia: Plan of Serbian Orthodox Bishop in the U. S., Dionisije (see p. 36.), and Plan of Dr. J. Ž. Milosavljević (see p. 40.).

6. *Serbia in her ethnical frontiers.*



This map represents the approximate ethnical division of Yugoslavia according to the absolute majority of the respective nationalities in their historical provinces. In VOJVODINA no nationality possesses an absolute majority. In SANDŽAK (Sanjak), the Croatian Moslem population desires a union with Croatia.

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